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ISLAM A SEVENFOLD PROBLEM

The year 622 A. D. is a landmark in the history of Asia, Europe and Africa. For Asia it marks the rise of a new religion; for Europe, the beginning of a new conflict culminating in the Crusades; and for Africa, the conquest of a continent by the religion of Arabia.

In the study of comparative religions, we must recognize the fact that among the many religions of mankind, Islam stands forth as one of three great missionary faiths that have crossed oceans and continents, the other two being Buddhism and Christianity. Second, we must add that Islam is the only religion that has for a time displaced Christianity in North Africa and Western Asia, and is today the most baffling of all missionary problems. A third reason for the importance of understanding this religion is that it vitally concerns present-day politics. The front page of the daily press tells of Islamic unrest from time to time in North Africa, Palestine, India, and Northwest China. And there is not a single European government which does not consider Islam a major problem in its diplomacy—as witness the recent assertion of Benito Mussolini.

This religion is the only non-Christian faith that has a periodical literature in the languages of Europe. Not only are there scientific magazines, published by Oriental scholars, on Islam in German, Italian, French and English, but the Moslems themselves are using these languages for propaganda.

Long ago, Doctor Becker pointed out the unity of this problem and its wide implications. But the longer we study it, the more complex and difficult it appears. One is reminded of the story of the Scotch professor who drew two concentric circles on the blackboard, and then stated to his class: "Gentlemen, the smaller the diameter of your knowledge, the smaller the circumference of your ignorance; the larger the diameter of your knowledge, the larger the circumference of your ignorance." The fact is that often the more some think they know about Islam, the less they really know. The problem is sevenfold.

1. *A Historical Problem.*—*Why Islam?* This question includes the more difficult problem of Mohammed's place in history, and the providential reasons for the rise and growth of this great non-Christian system. There have been various replies, as we all know. Some boldly and baldly assert that Mohammed is the anti-christ, that his system is a direct antithesis of Christianity, and therefore Mohammed himself was not a prophet of God, but a tool of the evil one. On the other hand, Sir William Muir and many other scholars believe that Mohammed was at the outset a sincere seeker after truth and a messenger of monotheism to the pagan Arabs. Afterwards, when he gained power and influence, he succumbed to temptation and invented revelations to justify his own conduct.

Again, there are those who say that Mohammed always was what he revealed himself to be afterward in his life. Some say that he was the victim of psychopathic derangement—that he was sex-mad. This theory has been held by disciples of the Freudian school. At the other extreme, there are writers who say, with Carlisle, that he was a true prophet of God from the outset—that his faults were the faults of his age. Whatever may be the conclusion to which one comes, the question of the rise of Islam remains a historical problem, because *this religion was in no sense a preparation for Christianity, but was a retrogression.*

2. *A Statistical Problem.*—The statistical problem is not as easy as appears at first thought. How many

Moslems are there, and what is their present-day distribution? There is no doubt but that their numbers are still increasing, and that the total number is perhaps one seventh of the human race, or about 250,000,000. It is their distribution in so many lands and among all races that is astonishing.

To begin with, note the Western Hemisphere. There are 25,000 immigrant Moslems in the United States and Mexico. They have periodicals published in Chicago and New York, with small mosques in a number of centers. In South America there are 250,000 chiefly in British and Dutch Guiana, Trinidad, and Brazil. But these are mere fractions on the outskirts of the world of Islam. In Europe there are large numbers of Moslems in London, Paris, and Berlin, and a total of more than 3,500,000 in Southeastern Europe. As for Africa, one third of the total population is Moslem. This includes the entire north coast, the east coast as far as Zanzibar, together with large groups in South Africa and on the west coast—a total of nearly 50,000,000.

But Asia, where Islam had its rise, naturally has the largest Moslem population. The two chief centers are India, with nearly 80,000,000 Mohammedans, and the Dutch East Indies, with 50,000,000 more. Generally speaking, all of Western Asia and Central Asia are solidly Mohammedan. In China there are perhaps 10,000,000, in the Philippine Islands over 500,000. In every part of Asia there is a Moslem problem, except in Korea and perhaps Siam.

3. *A Political Problem.*—As Lord Curzon remarked, "Islam is not a state church; it is far worse, it is a church state." In this statement one can read something of the enormous difficulty which European governments face in the administration of areas and countries where Islam is dominant. Although the caliphate has disappeared, the system of Moslem law, the rights of Moslem or of Christian and Jewish minorities, and the whole outlook of Moslem communities present constant difficulties to those who seek to govern. It is the political problem that causes unrest in Northern India, Palestine, Egypt, Algeria and Morocco.

According to the Koran, it is contrary to the will of God that Moslems should be under foreign rule. The solidarity of the Moslem world is never more evident than when Moslem minorities appeal to the world of Islam against some foreign government.

4. *A Social Problem.*—Islam is primarily a religion, but it is also a social system based upon the life and customs of Mohammed back in the seventh century. Islam is a totalitarian state, and therefore its legislation includes every detail of personal and family life. Words such as polygamy, concubinage, slavery, the degradation of womanhood, illiteracy, and superstition, enfold whole chapters, as it were, regarding social evils and social problems which have the same character in every part of the Moslem world, but which have reached different degrees of solution. The Moslem theory of education, of the place of the child, is in itself a problem for all who are trying to uplift society. There is a vast literature on this single aspect of Islam; namely, Moslem womanhood and childhood. And some of the best books on the subject have been written by Moslem leaders of the new era who advocate the abolition of the veil and the emancipation of womanhood.

5. *A Religious Problem.*—This, of course, is the primary, the fundamental phase. The social conditions and the political views of Moslems are due to the fact that they are based on "God's revelation"—the Koran. Islam is undoubtedly the greatest of the non-Christian religions in its affirmations. The Moslem creed, when carefully analyzed, includes many of the statements of the Apostles' Creed. And this religion is the only non-Christian faith that gives a high and historical place to Jesus Christ as a prophet. The eschatology of Islam deals with the future life, the resurrection, the day of judgment, the reward of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked, in phraseology somewhat similar to that of the Bible. On the other hand, next to its lofty theism, we find a fundamentally defective Christology and a degraded system of ethics. One has only to read the Koran carefully, and the Moslem traditions, to see how

wide apart is the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ from that of the Arabian prophet.

At first glance, the two religions may seem to have much in common, but upon closer examination, they differ in every detail. Even the unity of God, as asserted by Mohammed, is not the unity of God as we find it in the Old and New Testaments. Koran teaching regarding Jesus Christ denies every cardinal truth of the gospel. Although it asserts His virgin birth, the belief is carnal. Although it states that He could work miracles, those miracles are mostly puerile. And it flatly denies the Crucifixion, the Atonement for sin, the Resurrection of Christ from the dead, and His finality as Saviour and Lord. This must never be forgotten.

6. *A Missionary Problem.*—One could make a strong case for missions to Moslems solely on the social conditions in Moslem lands, and the crying needs of its childhood and womanhood. But Islam is a missionary problem in the same sense as Judaism. Mohammedans have a zeal toward God, but not according to knowledge. If the Jew needs the gospel, even more does the Moslem. And the question of missionary need is indisputable to those who have lived under the shadow of Islam,—and the shadow of the Cross.

Three words characterize the missionary problem in its historic aspects: neglect, difficulty, paucity of definite results. *First*, there has been an unaccountable *neglect* in carrying the gospel to Moslem lands since the rise of Islam. In fact, this religion itself is proof that missions were neglected in Arabia. Except for a few individuals, there were no missions to Moslems until the days of Henry Martyn. He may be called "The Modern Pioneer," having before his death translated the gospel into three Moslem languages. Today, there are whole sections of the Christian church that have never attempted missions in Moslem lands, and the unoccupied fields throughout the world are largely Moslem areas or Moslem populations.

A *second* outstanding feature in the problem is its alleged *difficulty*. This includes difficulty of approach and

inaccessibility because of Moslem fanaticism and intolerance; also the difficulty of proclaiming the gospel message, because of the character of the Moslem, and of the message. The good in this case is the enemy of the best. The Moslem has so much that he feels no need of any further good news. A final difficulty is the difficulty of those who are almost persuaded, as they face the law of apostasy with its cruel provisions against converts.

This brings us to the *third* factor in the missionary problem; namely, the *paucity of definite results*. There have been converts from Islam all down the centuries and outstanding martyrs from the days of Raymund Lull, but there are still countries where missions have been carried on for forty years without any organized churches composed of Moslem converts. The total number of converts from Islam in all North Africa is scarcely five hundred. On the other hand, in Java, the Dutch report over 72,000 Moslem converts, and in Persia there is today an indigenous church. The missionary problem of Islam is the problem of patience—the patience of prayer, the patience and love that will not let them go.

7. *A Personal Problem*.—When the Christian faces these various aspects of Islam as a world problem, his only response must be, "What wilt Thou have me to do?" What is our duty to our Mohammedan neighbors? How long shall we halt between two opinions regarding the necessity and the validity of missions to Moslems?

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S. M. ZWEMER.

SOME LIBRARIES OF CAIRO

American scholars, in their search for source materials, have long been aware of the riches and opportunities for study in the great libraries of Europe. The Bodleian and the British Museum libraries in England, the Bibliothèque Mazarine and the Bibliothèque National in France, and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome, among others, have been the haunts of American scholars abroad. This has been particularly true, of course, because our national cultural heritage is essentially European, and much of the material required for its study remains on European soil.

But American scholars are discovering that they cannot afford to limit themselves to the study of European sources. Work in history, philosophy, and most particularly, work in the history of scholarship and the history of science, so well exemplified by the contributions of George Sarton, have shown us that we must take into account Muslim as well as European sources—that, indeed, we can often understand the latter but poorly without first coming *en rapport* with the former. And Arabic might be considered almost as important a tool language as Medieval French or Middle German. Hence, perhaps, the renaissance of Arabic studies in American universities and colleges.

While it is true that the European libraries mentioned above, as well as many others—for example, the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin—are rich in Muslim materials, the scholar cannot afford to neglect certain libraries in Islamic countries. Istanbul, Damascus, and Cairo are as much the potential hunting grounds of the student of medieval history, philosophy and science as are London, Paris, and Rome.

In 1935 it was the good fortune of the writer to be enabled, by a grant from the General Education Board of the

Rockefeller Foundation, to visit the libraries not only of Italy, France, and Spain, but also of Cairo and Damascus. This article will attempt to describe, in a general way, the opportunities for study in Cairo, in three Egyptian libraries—the Egyptian State Library, the Library of al-Azhar University, and al-Ghūrī Library.

There are, of course, other libraries in Cairo which should be of interest to the scholar. Notable among these are the Library of the Institut française d'archéologie, and the Library of the School of Oriental Studies connected with the American University. But these are, actually, American or European libraries transplanted to Egyptian soil. Their management and administration are typical of their origins and not of their immediate *locale*. We are concerned here with definitely Egyptian institutions.

The Egyptian State Library was founded in 1860. It is located at present on the second floor of a building situated on the northeast corner of Sharia Muhammad 'Ali, at Midan Bab al-Khalk. This site is just within the edge of the native town, to the west of the bazaar district, and is conveniently reached from the European quarter by street car, or on foot.

This library plays much the same rôle in the life of Cairo as does the public library in the life of an American city. It is free to be used by any person who will identify himself to the authorities in charge; no card of admission or other formality is necessary, as is so often the case in even the least important library of France or Italy. Books and journals may be used in the building or they may be borrowed by responsible individuals.

The total collections of the library, including books and manuscripts, number about 300,000. These books are separated into two general groups—Arabic and European—which are shelved and cataloged separately. Within these two large classes, the books are further classified into large divisions by general subjects such as "Law," "History," "Theology," etc., and within these divisions the individual volumes are arranged on the shelves in the order of their

accession. The physical equipment for book storage consists of steel cases with glass doors which are normally locked.

The system of catalogs is complicated, but extremely useful. There exist in the library two separate card catalogs, one for the Arabic and one for the non-Arabic books. These catalogs are in the form known to European and American librarians as "alphabetic-classed," that is, they are arranged first by the classification number, and second alphabetically by the name of the author. This has the effect of presenting to the student the entire repertoire of the library in a single subject, at the given level of classification. It does not result, however, in the analysis of these large subject fields into their special aspects as does the American form of the straight alphabetic catalog.

The catalog for the non-Arabic books is a true card catalog. Each entry contains the name of the author, a short title, the number of pages, and the shelf number of the book. The catalog of Arabic books, on the other hand, is of the type called by librarians a "slip catalog"—a series of sheets bearing the entries, and bound together in loose-leaf binders.

Besides these card catalogs, the library publishes a monthly catalog of its accessions, again divided into two parts: one for Arabic and one for non-Arabic books, and again arranged in a classified-alphabetic form. Since 1929 these monthly lists have been accumulated each year, and printed—the monthly lists are mimeographed. Two sections of this annual printed catalog are issued for both Arabic and non-Arabic books, one arranged by author and one by title.

In addition, the library is now publishing a complete catalog of all of its Arabic books, arranged by subject and author. Six of a total of ten volumes had been published and were on sale through the library and through book sellers in 1935. These catalogs are exceptionally well printed and arranged, and rank, from the standpoint of cataloging and format, with the best of the printed catalogs of American and European libraries.

The printed catalog, in book form, has fallen into disuse in America, largely because of the great popularity of the card catalog. While it is true that the card catalog has one great advantage—that of the possibility of an infinite and constant intercalation of entries—the printed book catalog, because of its portability and the possibility of multiplying the number of copies, is a very useful tool for the individual scholar. It is a great advantage, for example, for the student in Cairo—or for that matter, elsewhere in the world—to have on his desk the complete list of the books in a great library.

The Egyptian State Library has a large and usefully-trained staff. European and American scholars generally are put in the charge of an accomplished bibliographer who is well acquainted with the resources of the library, and who, in addition, has an excellent idea of the methods of work of Western scholars through his training in the School of Library Science of the University of London.

The Library is open every day from nine A. M. until five P. M., except on Fridays, when it is closed from eleven until one, and on certain state and religious holidays.

The public reading rooms are small and are usually crowded, especially the newspaper and magazine room. Research workers, however, are given desks in a special room, where every reasonable effort is made to fulfil their needs. On the whole, one feels entirely free to make use of the books and manuscripts.

The casual visitor to the Library is of course impressed by the exhibit of rare manuscripts and early printed books, of which the institution owns a large number. Particularly interesting is the collection of large mosque Qur'ans, many of them written by famous calligraphers. (See Appendix.)

It is certainly not necessary to comment upon the importance or to recount the history of Al-Azhar University, which has been famous throughout the world for centuries. The modern history of its library dates properly from the year 1897, when some attempt was made to bring together the books belonging to the different *arwīqat*, to list them,

and to take stock, so to speak, of the gains and losses of the library. Again, in 1933, the present librarian studied the condition of the library and its book collections, and published a long report, a copy of which is in the writer's hands.

The library has had a devious history. Originally, and until the year 1853, there was evidently no attempt to maintain a central depository. Each *riwaq* had its own collection of books, which it administered for itself. In that year, a count was made of these books, and they were listed. They numbered 18,563. By 1897, however, many had disappeared, for at that time the count was only 7,703. The librarian, in his report, lists certain unique and valuable manuscripts which were listed in 1853, but which had disappeared by 1897. It would be interesting to attempt to discover their present whereabouts.

At the present time, the library consists of two main divisions: one, the Central Library, and the other composed of the books still belonging to the different *arwiqat*. These latter are uncataloged, and are not generally available for the use of outside scholars. They consist, to a considerable extent, of duplicate copies used as textbooks by the students.

The Central Library occupies one wing at the entrance to the mosque which houses the University. The books and manuscripts are kept in wooden cases in a large hall to which access is gained through a vestibule-reading-room. They may be used by responsible persons upon application to the Librarian or to his representative, or through the mediation of the Minister of Waqfs. The total count of volumes in 1933, which is the last count available, was 67,347. Of these, 46,398 were in the Central library, and the remainder in the *arwiqat*. Fourteen thousand three hundred fifty-two of these volumes are manuscripts, and the remainder are printed books.

There is a handwritten catalog on sheets, arranged according to a broad subject classification similar to that in the State Library. This catalog, however, is not complete nor entirely accurate. The present Librarian, who is a

graduate of the school of Librarianship of the University of London, is anxious to recatalog and rearrange the entire collection so that it may be made more available to scholars. At the present time it is very difficult to get access to the books because of the meagerness of the bibliographical apparatus available.

Qualified students are, however, made welcome in the library, provided they have a definite purpose for using it. Application for permission to use the library should be made to the Ministry of Waqfs, or to the Librarian of Al-Azhar himself.

It is to be hoped that the Librarian may succeed in modernizing the equipment of the library and thus make it more useful to scholars. He is to be complimented upon the strides he has already made in that direction, as well as upon his general interest in the library situation in Egypt outside the University.

Al-Ghūrī mosque is located on Sharia al-Azhar, about two blocks from the University. There are two buildings, on opposite sides of the street—on the right the prayer mosque, and on the left the tomb mosque of al-Ghūrī, which contains the library.

This library contains the collection of Zākī Pasha, consisting of some 20,000 volumes in Arabic and European languages dealing with the history, geography, etc., of Islam. These books are housed in one of the two rooms comprising the library quarters. The other room, somewhat larger, serves as administration space and as a reading room.

The Arabic books are arranged on the shelves by title, and the European books by author. There is no attempt at a subject classification on the shelves. There are separate author and title catalogs on cards available in the library; a subject catalog also exists, but, in 1935, it was still in the hands of Zākī Pasha, who was making use of it in his writings.

Besides this nuclear collection, the Shaikh of the library, with the co-operation of the Minister of Waqfs, is collecting

manuscripts from the mosques in Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt, where they are in danger of loss or mutilation, and bringing them into al-Ghūrī as a part of its library. In 1935, the Shaikh reported that several hundred valuable works had thus been saved from possible destruction, and had been brought back into use by scholars. This is a work for which the Shaikh deserves the highest praise and best thanks of all students of Islam.

The atmosphere of this library is one of studious and serious quiet. Bona fide students are welcomed by the Shaikh, and given every facility for their work with the books and manuscripts. The content of the collection, and the understanding and scholarship of the Shaikh himself, as well as his passionate love for books make al-Ghūrī a pleasant and profitable place in which to work. If the Shaikh is successful in carrying out his purpose of collecting those books and manuscripts remaining in the mosques of Cairo and the vicinity, al-Ghūrī library will be one to be reckoned with by scholars in the future. Even now, its importance in the fields it covers is considerable.

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Appendix: Catalog of the contents of the exhibit cases in the State Library at Cairo.

Case number	Content
1	Papyri dated 86-91 A. H.
2	Papyri dated 91-103 A. H.
3	Documents on paper, leather and stone. Manumissions of slaves, gravestones, etc.
4	Marriage certificates on paper, 641-43 A. H. Confessions on paper, 526-27 A. H.
5	Documents on various materials (eggshells, grains of wheat, wood, shards, etc.)
6	Early papyrus book, probably written in the Third century A. H.
7	Autographs of famous authors.
8	Manuscripts written in Spain and North Africa.

- 9 Kufic Qur'an from the Mosque of 'Amr, written about 725 A. D.; also 27 leaves from a Kufic Qur'an thought to have been written in the 1st Cent., A. H.
- 10 Facsimile of the Leningrad Qur'an.
- 11 Kufic Qur'ans from the Mosque of 'Amr, 2nd and 3rd Cents. A. H. One of them has the vowels marked according to the old system of dots.
- 12 Kufic Qur'an of the 3rd Cent., thought to have been written by Ja'far as-Sadiq, with various readings indicated by different colored vowel points.
- 13 Qur'ans written in North Africa and Spain.
- 14, 15, 16 Large mosque Qur'ans.
- 17, 18 Qur'ans of Sultan Sha'ban.
- 19 So-called "Qur'an of the Kaf."
- 20 Qur'an of Sultan Sha'ban.
- 21 Qur'an of Sultan Barquq, said by its scribe to have been written in 16 days, with a single pen.
- 22, 23 Qur'an of Sultan Barquq
- 24 Qur'an of Sultan Faraj b. Barquq.
- 25 13th cent. Qur'ans, one written in gold.
- 26 Qur'an of Sultan Mu'ayyad (1412-21)
- 27-31 Qur'an of Sultan Barsbay.
- 32 Qur'an of Amir Arghun Shah.
- 33 Qur'an of Sultan Khushqadam
- 34, 35 Qur'ans of Amir Kayitbay.
- 36 Qur'ans of al-Ghuri and Janibay.
- 37 Qur'ans of the Mamelukes. Small Qur'an with "shadow" writing.
- 38 Qur'ans written in India.
- 39-41 Persian manuscripts and Qur'ans.
- 42-44 Persian miniatures and illustrated manuscripts, including one illustrated by Bihzad, and containing the only drawing known to have been signed by him.
- 45-47 Turkish Qur'ans and manuscripts.
- 48 Autographs of sultans, calligraphers, etc.
- 49, 50 Early Arabic printed books.
- 51-54 Fine bindings.

MUHAMMADAN MYSTICISM IN SUMATRA ¹

The first reference to Muhanimadanism in Sumatra appears to have been made in 1292 A. D. by the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who mentions, in the records of his travels, the spread of Islam in Ferlac (i.e., Perlak, Acheh, in North Sumatra), a name well known from Malay chronicles. Since the old Muhammadan tombstones in Acheh have been deciphered, it has been ascertained that the founder of the Muslim kingdom of Samudra Pasari, on the northwest coast of Sumatra, died in 1297 A. D. So it is unlikely that the conversion of the country to the faith of Islam took place between 1270 and 1275, as some have assumed.

The introduction of Islam into Sumatra was not carried on by Arab preachers, but rather by Arab traders in the early centuries of the Hijrah. As early as the eighth century A.D., Arab traders were found in China in large numbers. Thus it is quite possible that they established commercial settlements on some of the islands along the West Coast of Sumatra. Along with the introduction of orthodox Islam into Sumatra there came, at about the same time, a type of heretical mysticism which still continues to exercise considerable influence over men's minds, in spite of the influence originating from Arabia. Numerous written documents indicate that this mysticism was brought into Sumatra by the pioneers of Islam from Hindustan. The most important works on mysticism in use were prepared by Indian writers, or else were derived from a body of mystics which flourished in Medina in the seventeenth century and which was strongly subjected to Indian influence. To this body belonged Ahmad Qushāshī of

¹ Reprinted from *Journal Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV, Part II, 1937.

Medina, whose disciples became the teachers of the devout Muslims in Javanese and Malay speaking countries. Chief among these teachers was Shaikh 'Abdurra'ūf of Singkel, the great Muslim saint of Aceh, now better known by the name of Teungku di Kuala, since his grave, a sacred shrine, is located at the mouth (*kuala*) of the Aceh River. His best known work is the 'Umdat al-Muhtājīn, which consists of seven chapters descriptive of a certain kind of mysticism, of which the *dhikr* forms a conspicuous part. In the conclusion of the work, 'Abdurra'ūf makes himself known to the reader, giving a short account of his life as a scholar, together with a *silsilah* (spiritual genealogical tree) to confirm the noble origin and high worth of his teaching. He studied for many years in Medina, Mecca, Jiddah, Mokha, etc., at the feet of no less than fifteen masters. Above all others he esteemed and praised the teacher Ahmad Qushāshī at Medina, whom he called his spiritual guide and teacher. 'Abdurra'ūf received a letter from Molla Ibrahim, the successor of Ahmad Qushāshī, permitting him to open a school of his own, which he did upon his return to Aceh in 1661 A. D.

The fascination which mysticism holds for the Muslims in the Dutch East Indies is largely due to the fact that it pertains to the twilight in which Islam, for the most part, is hidden from the common people. To them it seems to harmonize with the many strange and mysterious things in Islam, as for example: the Arabic language, foreign dress, the *hajji*, etc. Their interest in mysticism is also an evidence of a reaction from the over tension of Islam's stern idea of God. Man's longing for union with God bursts the barriers of orthodox doctrine, which holds that union with God is blasphemy. Yet mysticism does not lead to communion with God in the Christian sense. Mysticism does away with the individuality of man; God and man become one. Substance but not personalities can be co-mingled; this distinction forms the essential condition for communion.

In the Dutch East Indies every Muslim teacher of any note tries to give instruction in mysticism, because only by

so doing can he get any real hold on the people. It is well recognized that teachers of mysticism have more influence over the people than do the teachers in the Muhammadan universities. Many professors become members of mystical orders so that their reputation may thus be improved.

In Sumatra, as well as in some of the other islands of the Dutch East Indies, there are some teachers of mysticism who have become so advanced that they say it is no longer necessary to pray aloud; for them the secret prayer of the heart is sufficient. This may be regarded as a mystical reaction from the externality of the idea of God and his worship.

These mystical orders are not without political influence in the countries where they thrive. For example in Sumatra the Bataks say that repeating the *dhikr* when counting the rosary teaches them how to fight, to cross the ocean, march over hill and dale and conquer their enemies, so that some day they may be able to make war on the unbelievers.

These mystical orders continue to spread in the Dutch East Indies, so that one is led to believe that many Muslims hope that mysticism will once more work a reformation in their political life. Dr. G. Simon thinks this means worse bondage to their religious leaders, and a more complete blending of eschatological aspirations and mystical political tendencies.² However, it will be evident from this study of the subject that the present liberal movement in Sūfism in Sumatra is in the direction of a moral and social reform, rather than political.

The various forms of heretical mysticism found fertile soil in Sumatra, and had it not been for the persecution carried out by the princes at the instigation of the orthodox Muslims, the heretical types would have spread much more widely.

At the first the heretical types held, in common with the orthodox teachers, that the essence and object of religion is man's communion with his Maker; and that ritual, law and doctrine are necessary in order to accomplish that

² "The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra", by Gottfried Simon, p. 153.

end. But the unorthodox leaders soon forsook this accepted way and claimed that other means than that mentioned above would also lead to the desired end, and that those who lived in communion with Allah here on the earth are raised to some extent above the ritual and the law. Many of them conceive communion with Allah to be so complete that the distinction between the creature and the Creator is lost sight of.

This form of pantheistic mysticism is set forth by some authors in the form of a philosophy, while the most popular group describe it in mystical formulae and in sundry comparisons, based on a play on words and numbers. For example, they look upon the ever recurring number "four" as a demonstration of the unity of the whole of God's creation. It is, therefore, the task of mysticism to awaken in man the consciousness of this unity, so that he may identify himself with Allah, and with the Universal. Some mystics go so far as to say that this complete consciousness of the universal unity is in itself a universal prayer which does away with the necessity for the five daily devotional exercises of ordinary men. Others will go so far as to brand as a servant of many gods one who continues to offer up his prayers, or to testify that there is no god but Allah, since he who truly comprehends the Unity, knows that "there is no receiver of prayer and no offerer thereof"; for the One cannot pray to or worship itself.

Among the early mystics who are held in high repute in Sumatra the name of Ahmad Rifā'i (d. 1182 A. D.) deserves to be mentioned. He was the founder of the widespread order known as the Rifā'iyyah, which afterwards split into a number of subdivisions. The story of his life furnishes abundant proof of his piety and wisdom, and also of spiritual gifts (*karamāt*) which he exercised through Allah's help; yet we can find nothing to bridge over the gulf that separates him from all but juggling performances bearing his name, even though the connection can be traced.

Not only in the Rifā'i, but also in other mystical orders, instances are quoted from their own traditions concerning

members of the fraternity who have attained a high degree of perfection in mysticism. These have, by the help of divine grace, suffered no hurt from acts which under ordinary circumstances result in sickness or in death; as, for example, the eating of fragments of glass, biting off the heads of snakes, wounding themselves with knives, throwing themselves under the feet of horses; all these and other acts have proved harmless to the successors of the founder of these orders, and they too have been given the power to endow their true disciples with invulnerability.

For centuries past certain sections of these orders which possess such mystic powers have made a sort of trade out of the practice of these arts. The members of the order meet at a fixed time under the guidance of their teacher and proceed to the recitation of *dhikrs*, accompanied by certain movements of the body which tend to produce giddiness, and thus they finally fall into ecstasy which causes them to perform without fear the dangerous tricks mentioned above. Should one of them fall a victim to his hardihood, it is ascribed to the weakness of his faith; should he wound himself slightly, a little spittle from the mouth of the teacher, with an incantation of the name of the founder of the order, suffices to insure his recovery.

When the gathering of darwishes takes place in public, and especially at religious feasts, frequently some of the on-lookers become infected with the frenzy of the performers and voluntarily join in the hazardous game. This sudden participation is ascribed to the mystic influence of the founder of the order.

These public performances at times degenerate into mere theatrical representations, where nothing but the name and a few formalities recall their connection with mysticism. Indeed the most celebrated of these orders has been thus corrupted. The orthodox conception is that while it is wrong to cast any doubt on the possibility of the existence of such phenomena, and while certain chosen mystics have indeed shown by such means how close is their walk with Allah, these modern performances, although bearing

sacred names, are really empty, if not profane counterfeits. (Hurgronje, "The Achehnese", p. 250).

As a general rule it may be said that the Muhammadans of Sumatra desire to follow the orthodox way, and that the heterodox elements in the creed of the common people are embraced by them in ignorance and good faith, and rapidly disappear under the influence of orthodox teaching. The orthodox Shattāriyya mysticism introduced in Acheh in the seventeenth century now subsists in only a few narrow circles of devotees. The Naqshabandiyyah and the Qādiriyya orders have never really taken root in North Sumatra, although a few adherents of these orders are to be found in many parts of the island.

As the influence of Muhammadan teaching increased in Sumatra, as well as in other parts of the Dutch East Indies, the teachers of Sūfism soon found groups of natives who proved willing disciples of this interesting doctrine. There has been very little development in the field of higher mysticism, nor is there a scholastic system of mysticism in the Dutch East Indies, yet mystic ceremonies are found in all parts of the country. The form it assumes is that of a more or less practical mysticism, which the common people regard as the supreme expression of piety.

This mystical teaching has proved to be not the possession of a few of the educated upper class, but of many of the lower class of natives as well. Devout Muslim Bataks in Sumatra like to close their daily prayers with a little mystical exercise. The worshipper sits upon the ground, his hands lying upon his knees in such a manner that the tips of his fingers do not stick out over his knees (otherwise the Prophet will cut them off). The worshipper keeps in this position without moving while the Prophet enters his soul; or the worshipper will be told to shut his eyes after he has finished his prayers and stop his ears, then his soul communes with Muhammad and 'Ali. From these two persons he receives the power to work miracles, to rise to eminence and to obtain wealth.

The natives of these islands love the mysterious and the

fantastic. Practices which they can only partially understand are a welcome substitute for the animistic ceremonies which Islam has taken away from them.

The introduction of Western education on an extensive scale into the Dutch East Indies during the past twenty years has caused the younger generation of that country to question the content of their religious teaching and the basis of their customs. The spirit of intellectual freedom has also caused them to question the teaching and practice of their elders, to adopt western modes of thinking and living, as well as western dress and to oppose the practice of polygamy. This change in the Muslim attitude towards life and religion has been responsible for the organization of a new movement throughout the Dutch East Indies known as the "Muhammadiyah Party". Every community of any size in Java and Sumatra has its local branch or chapter of this organization. Each branch operates under the direction of its own president and committee of management, and has a set of rules and regulations governing the activity of each society. They have club houses, reading rooms, organized sports; boy scout and girl guide troupes are organized and modern methods of sanitation are taught. They also seek to provide better educational opportunities for their children. This same desire for better education extends to their religious life as well. They have prepared text books on religious education much after the style of those used in the Christian Sunday Schools, and also Muhammadan Catechisms suitable for the children. They have tried to reorganize the service of worship in the Mosque, introducing the singing of hymns and a sermon much after the style of Christian Church service. There is also a yearly conference held, known as the "Muhammadiyah Congress", to which delegates are sent from the various local organizations throughout the country.

Opposed to this new movement with a greater or less degree of earnestness is the "Islamiyyah Party" which represents the old traditional conception of Muhammadan life and religion. This party looks with fear and suspicion on

the transformation advocated by the "K̲aum Muda" (the Youth Movement) as they call it. The relationship between the two groups has at times become so strained that the Islamiyyah people have in certain places closed their mosques to the members of the Muhammadiyyah Party. The conservative party still holds that the life of a Muslim must be governed by the teaching of the Qur'an and the Traditions as interpreted by the old commentaries, and that man's condition in life is still foreordained of Allah. The members of the Muhammadiyyah party continue to respect the teaching of the Qur'an, but maintain that it must be interpreted in the light of the knowledge of this present day. They value the traditions of the Prophet and his companions only in so far as they contribute to man's improvement, physically, intellectually and spiritually. They also realize the high regard which loyal Muhammadans have for *taṣawwuf* (mysticism), but they are also conscious of the fact that what is commonly accepted as mysticism by the average Muslim is quite out of harmony with their philosophy of life; therefore they have prepared text books on *taṣawwuf*, which are to be used as curriculum material in the local chapters of the Muhammadiyyah Party. Their teaching of mysticism as contained in these books gives that phase of Islam an entirely new meaning. They do not intend that mysticism shall lead to asceticism, but that it shall assist their people to live a more intelligent, refined and useful religious life. The Muhammadiyyah conception of mysticism is not what we understand as orthodox mysticism, but is rather a treatise on ethics and moral science; but even so, all this new doctrine is classified under the heading of *Taṣawwuf Islam* (Muhammadan Mysticism), in the hope, doubtless, that under this title it will be more acceptable to the conservative groups, and also perpetuate a terminology which has a deeply religious connotation for Muhammadans throughout this part of the world.

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ALLAH BEFORE ISLAM

For some years now Professor Hubert Grimme of Münster has been endeavoring to awaken Orientalists to the importance of the great mass of material lying neglected in the North Arabic inscriptions—some 400 Dedanite and Lihyanite, about 1700 Thamudic, and over 6000 Safaïtic. He has insisted that we have here a great body of information of the utmost importance for the understanding of religious conditions in North Arabia prior to the rise of Islam. But Grimme's appeals have gone almost unheeded. Undaunted he has gone forward alone, and attempted to blaze a trail through this almost unexplored region. The results of his research have been gathered up in three principal monographs: *Texte und Untersuchungen zur safatenisch-arabischen Religion* (Paderborn, 1929), "Religiöses aus thamudischen Inschriften" (*Le Monde Oriental*, XXVIII, 1934, pp. 72-98), and "Neubearbeitung der Wichtigeren dedanischen und lihjanischen Inschriften" (*Le Muséon*, L, 1937, pp. 269-322). Judgment on the last of these monographs has not yet been passed, but Grimme's earlier work, while full of brilliant suggestions, has not as a whole inspired confidence; and scholars have been content to reconstruct their picture of pre-islamic North Arabia from literary sources, such as the early poetry, Abū'l-Faraj's *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, and Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-Asnām*, rather than enter the barren-looking epigraphical field themselves. Unreliable as much of Grimme's work may have been, he deserves a word of warm praise for his persistence and energy in wrestling with a most difficult problem, and for calling attention to a field of investigation too long neglected by Arabists.

It is true that the inscriptional material at our disposal does not at first sight look very promising, seeming to consist largely of proper names. Even though this first impression were the whole truth, we still could not afford to ignore it, for names have a story to tell, especially in Semitic societies, as Robertson Smith, Littmann and others have shown. Fortunately, however, this first impression is only partially correct; a closer examination of the inscriptions reveals the fact that many of them are definitely of a religious nature and, if properly translated, might throw an unexpected light on early Arabian religion. It is the brevity of the inscriptions which is deceiving. But even their brevity may be overrated, for in the Lihyanite group there are twenty texts ranging in length from five to twelve lines, not one of which has ever been deciphered with certainty!

For the past three years the present writer has devoted a considerable amount of time to a study of the North Arabic inscriptions, and last year published a little monograph¹ on the Lihyanite and Thamudic texts, in which he pointed out that the so-called "Lihyanite" texts are written in three different scripts and the so-called "Thamudic" in five. In fact, not all of the Thamudic texts can be fitted into these five, and are evidently isolated examples of scripts peculiar to regions not yet explored. While I have succeeded, I believe, in establishing the main outlines of the alphabets of these scripts, there are still lacunae and doubtful points which only further research can clear up. My classification of the inscriptions, however, places us in a much better position than hitherto for tracing the religious development in pre-islamic North Arabia. Using this classification I have endeavored to discover what light the inscriptions throw on the worship of Allah before Islam and herewith present the results of my investigation. The evidence is of two kinds: (a) invocations addressed to Allah, (b) Allah-names.

¹ *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* (University of Toronto Studies, Oriental Series, No. 3, 1937).

A. INVOCATIONS TO ALLAH

Due to the limitations of space, I will present the relevant texts with commentary reduced to a minimum. A transliteration is given for the benefit of those who may not have access to the originals,² and with the hope that others may be able to improve on my translations.

TRANSLITERATION

(a) Early Lihyanite

JS 8 'b-d-m-n-t 's-d-q
f-r-d-h h-l-h w-s'-d-h

(b) Late Lihyanite

JS 61 b-q h-d-b b-
l-h dh-gh-b-
t 'd-q l-l-
h h-s-l-m-n
f-r-d-y-h w-
s'-d-h

JS 260 j-h-f-y
h-l-h b-r m-dh-m-h

(c) "Thamudic B"

JS 277 h-kh-l-h d-h-w-n n-m j'-n-n³

JS 285 f'-l-y 'b-t-r l-m-l-n-b-s-k-n. Cp. Hu. 473 (3).

JS 287 h'-l-h d'-n 't-m th'-t 't-m-n kh-l?-d-s. Cp.
Hu. 473 (5).

JS 305 h'-l-h 'b-t-r b-k h-s-r-r

JS 409 h'-l-h d-h-w-n 't-m y-s-r 'm 'h-l dh'-t'
y'-m-n.

Hu. 99, 27 h'-l-h th-m-d-m-r-l-l-k?-j'-

Hu. 299, 72b b'-l-h 'b-t-r kh-l-s-t w-h-d-b. Cp. Eut. 598.

Hu. 475 h'-l-y 'b-t-r b-z s-f-l-n

Hu. 643 h'-l-h 'b-t-r 'l-m 'n-m
n-m kh-l-s-t.

Hu. 644, 10 h'-l-h z?-'l n-q-m n-m 'm-y-t

(d) Safaitic

DM 239 l-s-n-y b-n s-n-y b-n m-h-l-l w-w-j-d
'th-r d-d-h f-n-j'- k-b-r f-h-l-h s-l-m

² For the Lihyanite, cp. Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, I-II (1909-1914); for the Thamudic, see the same work and Huber's *Journal d'un Voyage en Arabie*, 1883-84; and for the Safaitic see Dussaud and Macler, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyennes* and Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*.

³ The word division of these Thamudic texts is my own; no division appears in the inscriptions.

- l-dh-w'-r w-gh-y-r-t w-w-j-m 'l m-h-l-m*
w-'l z-n-n w-'l h-m-s-k.
 DM 242 *l'-n-'m b-n b-'d b-n 'd-'j-t w-h-l-h*
s-l-m w-r-d-y 'w-r dh-y-'w-r h-s-f-r.
 DM 539a *l-q-n'-l b-n q-h-sh b-n q-n'-l w-kh-r-š*
h-m-h-l f-h-l-h kh-l-š.
 L 128 *l-m-h-l-m b-n w-h-l. w-?-r-h-f'-r-n h-l(h)*
s-l-m.

Vog. 234—Unfortunately I have not been able to consult Vogüé's copy in his *Syrie centrale*, Paris 1868-77. For Halévy's reading, cp. *Journal asiatique*, 1881, p. 181.

The name Allah has been read in JS 450 but I am now convinced that this text should be translated: *Na'am'il the son of Hafraz of the tribe (dh-'l) of Haram*. This tribe is referred to in DM 546. Incidentally JS 450 shows us what was the *dhāl* sign in "Thamudic A", a sign hitherto unidentified.

Another reference to Allah is said to occur in a Christian Arabic inscription assigned to the sixth century and published by Littmann in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, VII (1929), pp. 197-204. Derenbourg's reading of Allah in a Minaean inscription (*Journal asiatique*, 1892, pp. 157-166) was without foundation. The *'l-h-n* referred to is the name of a region in the Yemen.

Ryckmans in his *Les Noms propres sud-Sémitiques*, i.2, ii.28, gives what is evidently intended to be a complete index to the occurrences of *Allah* or *Ilah* in the inscriptions, but his list omits: JS 260 lih., and JS 277, 285, Hu. 99, 27; 299, 72b; 475; 643 tham.; while it adds to my list: JS 40 lih. and JS 20, 180, 294, 637, Eut. 40; 226, 2; Hu. 87, 4; 89, 13; 281, 15; 501, 27; 642, 4; but all these additions are, in my opinion, erroneous.

TRANSLATION

(a) Early Lihyanite

- JS 8 *'Abdmanāt, the trustworthy.*
 Grant him a long life, O Allah, and good luck!

(b) Late Lihyanite

JS 61

.
 *Dhu-Ghabat*

*has presented to Allah
 the images.*

*So may they both grant him a long life
 and good luck.*

JS 260

J-h-f-y.

O Allah, free (him) from his defect.

(c) "Thamudic B"

JS 277

O Allah, guide me. By J-'-n-n.

For the name *J-'-n-n*, cp. Ryckmans, *Les Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, i. 273. The second sign of the inscription is a *kha* but should surely be read as an *alif*. Jaussen and Savignac explain *d-h-w-n* as derived from *dahana*, III, and render by "indulgent". In view of the context in which the word occurs in JS 317-Hu. 477, I would suggest that it is a dialectical form of *hadā*, "to guide". JS 317 reads: *h-'-t-r-s-m f-h-w-d d-h-w-n w-n-ṣ-r-n m-kh-sh-w-r* which may be translated as follows: *O 'Atarsam guide me and save me from going astray.*

JS 285 This inscription, is of uncertain interpretation, but in view of the second word the first should probably be read as *Allah*.

JS 287

*O Allah, permit me to accomplish salvation, to
 accomplish*

Th-'-t is probably a *maṣdar* of the root *w-th-'* (- Heb. *yāsha'*, "to save"). Cp. Hu. 221, 5 *h-n-h-y s-'-d-n 'l-h th-'-t*, "O Nahy, grant me good luck, god of salvation."

JS 305

*O Allah, (god) without offspring, greeting (lit.
 in thee be joy).*

Grimme (*Die Lösung*, p. 66) renders the word *'-b-t-r* by "kinderloser"; Ryckmans (*Le Muséon*, L, p. 333) suggests *isolé*.

JS 409

*O Allah, guide me that I may attain prosperity
*

Hu. 99, 27

O Allah

Hu. 299, 72b

*O Allah, (god) without offspring. Khalaṣat and
 ha-Ḍabb.*

Hu. 475

O Allah, (god) without offspring

Hu. 643

*O Allah, (god) without offspring, knower of
 men. By Khalaṣat.*

Hu. 644, 10

O Allah, vengeance for Umayyat has ceased.

(d) Safaitic

- DM 239 *By Sunay the son of Sunay the son of Muḥallal.
And he found the mark of his "love" and it
affected (him) greatly. O Allah, grant peace to
him who and envy and disappointment
be upon Muḥallam and upon Zannan and upon
ha-Māsik.*
- DM 242 *By An'am the son of Ba'ad the son of Ad'ajat.
And O Allah, grant peace and acceptance. Smite
with blindness anyone who effaces the inscription.*
- DM 539a *By Qinn'ūl the son of Qāḥish the son of Qinn'ūl.
He calculated (the site of) the halting-place, so
O Allah, grant (him) peace!*
- L 128 *By Muḥallim the son of W-h-l O
Allah, grant (him) peace!*

Looking back over the texts given above, we find nothing distinctive in the appeals addressed to Allah; they are the sort of appeals that might be addressed to any god. But there is one epithet applied to Allah which is not applied to any other god in the north Arabic inscriptions and that is *abtar*. It evidently denotes a quality which was regarded as peculiar to Allah alone; it thus forms our chief key to the Allah-theology of the pre-islamic Arabs. Now this word *abtar* is used in the 108th Surah of the Koran in the sense of "childless". According to the Moslem commentators, Mohammed had been reproached with being a "tailless" man, i.e., a man without offspring; but Allah comes to his defense with the following revelation: "Verily we have given thee *al-kauthar*. So pray to thy Lord and offer sacrifices. Verily he who hates thee is *al-abtar*." (Cp. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 92). A commentary on the use of the term as applied to Allah may well be supplied by Surah 112: "Say, Allah is one; Allah the eternal. *He did not beget*, and He was not begotten. And no one is comparable to Him." Mohammed may be here reflecting a bit of pre-islamic theology about Allah.

B. ALLAH NAMES

In compiling this list of names I must express my deep indebtedness to Professor Ryckmans' *Les Noms propres*

sud-sémitiques; without the assistance of his monumental work this investigation could not have been undertaken.

- (a) Sabaeen—one occurrence (CIH 74).
- (b) Minaean—one (JS 181a).
- (c) Early Lihyanite—*J-r-m-l-h* (JS 251), *M-r'-l-h* (JS 314, E. D. Ar. 72), *N-s'-l-h* (JS 42), *T-m-l-h* (JS 140, 365a), *W-d-?-l-h* (JS 252). Whether *W'-l-h* in JS 320 and 360 is a proper name or means "By Allah" is not certain.
- (d) Late Lihyanite—*B-?-d-l-h* (JS 321), *J-r-m-l-h* (JS 355, 361), *H-n'-l-h* (JS 200), *H-r-m-l-h* (JS 202), *M-r'-l-h* (JS 75, 188), *M-r-l-h* (JS 346), *S-?-d-l-h* (JS 318), *T-m-l-h* (JS 91, 146, 198), *T-?-l-h* (JS 208), *W-b-d-l-h?* (JS 53), *W-h-b-l-h* (JS 54, 56, 63, 77, 168, 229, 352), *W-h-b-l-h* (JS 79), *W-m-h-l-h* (JS 263), *Z-d-l-h* (JS 41, 60, 206?, 247, 276, 340).
- (e) "Thamudic D"—one (JS 637).
- (f) "Thamudic E"—four (JS 35; 229=Hu. 400; 179=Hu. 347=Eut. 684; 618).
- (g) Safaitic—five.
- (h) Nabataean—frequent (*W-h-b'-l-h-y*, *T-y-m'-l-h-y*, etc. For a complete list, cp. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, vol. ii).

We note from this list that Allah-names first become common in the Lihyanite texts. There are only two Allah-names in South Arabic; in fact, the Minaean text in which one of these occurs was found in the north at al-'Ula, while the solitary occurrence in Sabaeen can be readily explained as an infiltration from the north. The evidence supplied by the occurrence of Allah-names suggests that Lihyan (mod. al-'Ula) was the first centre of Allah-worship in Arabia.

Turning back now to the evidence provided by the Invocations to Allah, we note that none of these invocations occur in the South Arabic inscriptions. They begin with the Early Lihyanite, dated by me in my *Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions*, p. 51, to the fifth century B. C. The date of the "Thamudic B" texts which provide the greatest number of invocations to Allah is uncertain, but they seem to be later than the Lihyanite. Strange to say,

no Allah-names occur in "Thamudic B", appearing only in "Thamudic D" (3rd cent. A. D.) and "Thamudic E" (4th cent. A. D.).⁴

Our two lines of investigation thus converge in a remarkable fashion to suggest that it was the Lihyanites who introduced the worship of Allah into Arabia. The inscriptions of the Dedanites, who were the predecessors of the Lihyanites, contain no hint of Allah, which is evidence that Allah was not a god of this locality, but was brought in by the Lihyanites.

In view of all this, the history of the Lihyanites takes on a new interest. Who were they and where did they come from? According to the Arab genealogists they were a branch of the Hudhail, whose genealogy is given as follows: Hudhail b. Mudrika b. al-Yās b. Muḍār (cp. Encyclopaedia of Islam: *Lihyān*). This tradition betrays no knowledge of the fact that they were once an independent people with kings of their own, and manifestly does not carry us back very far. It would rather seem to present the situation after the power of the Lihyanites had declined. Whether they were of native Arabian stock or not, their prosperity must have depended on widespread trading relations, and these would inevitably have subjected them to foreign influences. This raises the question whether the god Allah, whom they included in their pantheon, was of Arabian or of foreign origin.

In seeking to answer this question we may remind ourselves first of all that Aramaic (Syriac certainly, and probably Nabataean and Palmyrene) is the only one of the Semitic languages in which the word for "a god" or "God" begins with the vowel "a". And it is the vowel "a" at the beginning of *Allah* which is so striking and which differentiates it from the ordinary Arabic word for "god", *ilāh*. This "a" vowel has ordinarily been explained on the assumption that *Allah* is a contraction of *al-ilāh*, Western scholars having adopted the theory of the Moslem commentators. But in Lihyanite the name appears as *h-l-h*

⁴ See my *Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions*, p. 51.

and in Thamudic as *h'-l-h*. According to the usual theory we are forced to conclude that the name of the god worshipped was really *Ilah*; that is, the Lihyanites and Thamud had turned the common noun for "a god" into a proper name. This is evidently the conclusion of Ryckmans, who in his *Les Noms propres sud-sémitiques* regularly renders the word by *Ilah*. The Lihyanites will have prefixed the vocative particle *ha* to the name and addressed the god as *ha-Ilah*, while another group of Arabs prefixed the vocative particle *al* to the name and addressed him as *al-Ilah*. In both cases the initial *hamzah* of *Ilah* will have been dropped, contrary to rule, and the word pronounced as *Hallah* in the one case and *Allah* in the other.

Against this theory it may be urged that when we meet names like *W-h-b'-l-h* and *W-h-b'-l-h-y* in Nabataean no one doubts that the theophorous element is *Allah*. It cannot very well be *ilāh*, because the Nabataean word for "God" is *allāhā* which would require a final *alif* after the *ha* in the inscriptions. The Greek transliterations of these Semitic names are a further proof that the theophorous element should be read as *Allah*. If we admit that these names are Allah-names when they appear in Nabataean, on what ground shall we deny them the same interpretation when they appear in Lihyanite or Thamudic? Surely not on the ground that in Nabataean the theophorous element is written *'-l-h* or *'-l-h-y* whereas in Lihyanite and Thamudic it appears as *l-h*. The omission of the *alif* in the two latter scripts is no proof that the element is *ilāh*; rather it indicates that the element is not *ilāh* but something else, for the *hamzah* of *ilāh* is never elided in Arabic writing.

The Syrians, however, raised the common noun for "god", *allāh*, to the dignity of a proper name by affixing the determining element "*a*": *allāhā*="the god", then "God". Compare pre-islamic Syrian names like Yahballaha ("God has given") and Itallaha ("God is"). When the Lihyanites took over the proper name, *Allaha*, they arabicized it by dropping the determining element "*a*". In invocations they prefix to it their vocative or demonstrative particle

ha (the *ha* which appears for instance in *hā-dhā*, "this", not the article which in Lihyanite was *han* before a word beginning with *alif*). Whether the Thamud derived the worship of Allah from the Lihyanites or independently from the Syrians is not certain. The fact that they seem to have a theology of Allah expressed in the word *abtar*, which does not appear in Lihyanite, suggests that they derived their knowledge of Allah independently of the Lihyanites. When the Nabataeans entered the Lihyanite-Thamudic area, they too adopted the worship of Allah, and so a knowledge of this god persisted down to Mohammed's time. In view of the origin of the name, it was natural that Allah should always have retained something of his character as "the god" *par excellence*. It remained for Mohammed to clear the horizon of all other lesser gods.

That the Thamudic area around al-'Ula and Mada'in Salih represents the earliest seat of Allah-worship in Arabia is further attested by the Koranic tradition that Allah had sent a prophet, Salih, to the Thamud. It appears as if this tradition rests on a real historical basis. Allah must have had his partisans in this area. There is need for a fresh examination of the Lihyanite-Thamudic region which seems to have constituted the heart of pre-islamic North Arabia. Jaussen and Savignac found it a veritable archaeological treasure-house, and it is doubtful if they exhausted it. Every scrap of information from this strategic spot should be gathered up before it has been irretrievably effaced by the hand of Time.

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AL-KUMAIL: A COMPANION OF THE SECRET

Very early in the history of Islam efforts were made "to show Qur'ānic authority for any mystical doctrine whatsoever, and to maintain that Ṣūfism was really the esoteric teaching of the Prophet communicated by him to his son-in-law, 'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib," (Nicholson, art. "Ṣūfism", *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*). And this Ṣūfī tendency found an even better avenue of expression in the course of the evolution of the Traditions. For throughout a long period, altogether for about three hundred years, these sayings continued to be verbally transmitted, sayings of the Prophet and of his companions, and of 'Ali and his companions. It was a situation that was exploited by all parties. We can imagine how interesting it would have been if they had had broadcasting stations in Basra, Baghdad, Alexandria and Damascus. But in spite of this deficiency, the Muslim Empire was in full bloom, at the very height of its culture and prosperity, and significant thought waves of the eighth and ninth centuries were being transmitted back to 'Ali or Muhammad by means of these oral traditions, which were finally compiled to make the present vast collections of *Ḥadīth*.

An interesting example of this fact is afforded by the traditions that are attributed to al-Kumail, communications which he is said to have received personally from 'Ali. They show the same background of scholastic Neo-Platonism in philosophy that the Mu'tazilites were making familiar in Islamic countries in the ninth century, and moreover they show with equal clearness the contemporary influence of Ṣūfism.

Modern manuals of Shi'ite traditions, as related from

the standpoints of the Ṣūfīs, give the names of 'Alī's "Companions of the Secret",¹ (aṣḥāb al-sirr).² The first one mentioned is al-Kumail b. Ziyād b. Nahīk, and then follow six others.³

The earliest notice of al-Kumail is found in the *Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd,⁴ (d. 844 A. D.): "al-Kumail b. Ziyād b. Nahīk b. Haitham b. Sa'd b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Ṣuhbān b. Sa'd b. Mālik b. al-Nakha' was from the tribe of Madhḥij. He related traditions from 'Uthmān and 'Alī and 'Abd Allah. He was present with 'Alī at the Battle of Ṣiffīn and was accepted as a noble among his people. But when al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf came to Kūfa, he summoned Kumail and put him to death."

In the *Tanbīh*,⁵ al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956 A. D. observes that Kumail was one of the Bani Ṣuhbān, that he was a companion of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, and that he was one of many men of distinction who were killed by al-Ḥajjāj, by his "confining them until they died". And he describes the prison that al-Ḥajjāj had as "an enclosure in which there was not anything to shelter the prisoners from either the heat or the cold, and where he made them drink water mixed with ashes". The further statement that there were fifty thousand men and thirty thousand women confined in that prison is regarded as possibly an exaggeration.

In the *Murūj al-Dhahab*⁶ al-Mas'ūdī remarks that on one occasion 'Alī counselled Kumail, who was his administrative agent at al-Hīt, "to avoid injuring the believer, for Allah protects his household, and his soul is dear to

¹ *Kitāb-i-Maḡāhir al-Anwār*, by Rida Qulī Khān Hidāyat, p. 448, under the heading *al-ḥijāb*; and in the table given in the *Riyāḍ al-Siyāḥat*, by Ḥājji Zain al-'Abidin al-Shirwānī, lith. Teheran, 1328 A. H. Cf. also the *Jannāt al-Khulūd*. "Perpetual Gardens", lith. Teheran, 1841, table No. 7.

² The word *sirr* (secret) should not be confused with *sihr* (glamour or magic), which is fully described by Dr. D. B. Macdonald in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The distinction is illustrated in the title of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's book on magic, *Sharḥ al-Sirr al-makṭūm fī al-sihr wa 'l-talāsim*, Bombay, A. H. 1312. The technical Sūfī usage of the term *al-sirr* is explained by Abd al-Razzāk in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiya*, which is now published along with his *Sharḥ al-Manāzil al-Sayirīn*, lith. Teheran, A. H. 1315. "Al-Sirr", he says, "the essential characteristic of anything in relation to its creation, is from al-Ḥaqq, as mentioned in His word, 'We only say unto a thing we wish, "Be", and it is,' (Qur'ān, 16:42). It is for this reason that it is said that no one knows God (al-Ḥaqq) except God, and no one seeks God except God. For the secret (*al-sirr*) is itself that which seeks God and loves Him and knows Him. So the Prophet declared, 'I knew my God by means of my God,' ('araftu rabbī bi-rabbī)."

³ They are Mālik b. Ḥārith, Suhail Yamānī, Tammār al-Mitham, Rashid al-Hajārī, Sa'id b. Jubair, and Qanbar al-Shahīd al-'Ashiq.

⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, edit. Leiden, vol. vi, p. 124.

⁵ *Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*, edit. M. J. de Goeje, p. 318.

⁶ *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Les Prairies d'Or, vol. iv, p. 449.

Allah; and the one who oppresses him contends with Allah. Beware of one who has no protector except Allah."

In order to understand the significance of the secret knowledge that 'Ali shared with Kumail, it may be well to include al-Mas'ūdī's description of 'Ali's forceful personality:⁷ "One of 'Ali's intimate associates, Ḍirār b. Ḍamra, had come to Mu'āwīa as an envoy. Mu'āwīa said to him, 'Describe 'Ali for me.' He replied, 'I pray that you excuse me from this, O Amīr al-Mu'minīn.' Mu'āwīa said, 'But I insist on your doing so.' He answered, 'Well, if it is a matter of necessity, know that he is a man of wide influence (*ba'īd al-madī*) and of tremendous powers (*shadīd al-quwā*). He is accustomed to speak decisively and to judge righteously. Knowledge radiates from his person and wisdom speaks in his presence. He chooses the coarsest food and the simplest clothing. He will always answer us when we call him, and will give to us when we ask of him. Yet, notwithstanding our close association with him, and the familiarity he has with us, owing to the exceedingly high respect we have for him, we hesitate to speak to him directly; and on account of the exalted place he holds in our minds, in fact we scarcely feel free to answer him. When he smiles he shows his front teeth like threaded pearls.⁸ He honours the people of the faith and is kind to the poor. He feeds the orphan who is related to him as well as the man who is destitute from poverty.⁹ He clothes the naked and succours the afflicted. He is grieved with the world and its splendours, but he is fond of the night and its darkness. I remember one time, when night had lowered its curtains and depressed its stars, that he was still at his prayer niche, grasping his beard and restlessly swaying—like the swaying of one who has been bitten by a snake. He was weeping like one bereaved, and was saying, "O World, beguile someone else than me! Is it to me you come? Is it me you desire? Begone! away!

⁷ Mas'ūdī, op. cit., p. 446 ff.

⁸ Restraint of laughter has been a mark of culture among Muslim peoples, but in the presentation of the Mark Twain medal recently to Kemal Atatürk, the remark was made that "if Mark Twain were alive he would consider that no man could better have taught the Turkish people to laugh and enjoy life."

⁹ Cf. Qur'ān, 15:15.

your time has not come. Truly I have divorced you three times (i.e., repudiated you absolutely), and for you there is no returning to me. Your business is brief, your pleasures are poor, and your honours soon pass away. Ah! the food (you provide) is too little, the journey is long, and the road is across the desert!" " "

The traditional answer that 'Ali gave to Kumail about essential reality (*al-ḥaqīqat*) is the basis of 'Abd al-Razzāk's (d. 1329 A. D.) *Risālat al-Kumailiyya*.¹⁰ But the oldest version of this tradition that is available is that which is given by the foremost Shi'ite historian, Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī (d. 900 A. D.).¹¹ Substantially the same tradition, with additions by way of interpolation, is related by two other early authorities. The first is Ibn Babuwaihi al-Ṣadūq (or al-Qummī),¹² (d. 991 A. D.), who goes into the question of the *isnād* or line of transmission, to cover the period of nearly three hundred years from the time of Kumail to his own era. The second of these two traditional authorities is Saiyid Rāzī (d. 1073 A. D.), who compiled the book that is supposed to consist of the sayings of 'Ali, and that is called the *Nahj al-Balāghat*, "The Open Road of Eloquence",¹³ a book that is held by the Shi'ites to be second only to the Qur'ān. But before he mentions the tradition *fī ḥaqīqat*, Saiyid Rāzī gives a notice that is of historical value, namely, that while Kumail was acting as agent for 'Ali at al-Hīt, the Amīr al-Mu'minīn wrote him a letter in which he upbraided him for his failure to prevent raids by the enemy across his district.¹⁴

The following is the important tradition in regard to *al-ḥaqīqat*, as translated from the record given by al-Ya'qūbī.¹⁵ The interpolations, which are from one or both of the two other early authorities, appear in italics.

¹⁰ Cf. art. in Ency., of Islam on 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Kāshānī, with references given by Dr. Macdonald to Berlin MS. No. 3462, to Ḥadjdji Khalīfa iv, 38, and to Journ. As. 14, 83.

¹¹ Ibn Wāḍih (al-Ya'qūbī), *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, 1883, vol. ii, p. 242 ff.

¹² Ibn Babuwaihi al-Ṣadūq (or al-Qummī), *Kamāl al-Dīn*, lith. Teheran, 1301 A. H., pp. 169-171.

¹³ Saiyid Rāzī, *Nahj al-Balāghat*, "The Open Road of Eloquence", lith. Teheran with Iranian interlinear translation and marginal comments, 1355 A. H., p. 363.

¹⁴ Saiyid Rāzī, op. cit., p. 331.

¹⁵ This famous account about 'Ali's conversation with Kumail about *al-ḥaqīqat* is celebrated in a modern book of Ṣūfī verse that is called the "Sea of Secrets", *Baḥr al-Asrār*, lith. Kirmān, A. H. 1329, pp. 283-309. The author of this book is Muzaffar 'Ali Shah Kirmānī, which shows that the traditional interview that Kumail had with 'Ali is generally accepted by present-day Ṣūfis as authentic. The portion that comprises the commentary on Kumail (*Sharḥ-i-Kumail*) has recently been printed in pamphlet form in Iṣfahān along with the *Gulshān-i-Rāz*.

"Kumail b. Ziyād said, 'Ali grasped my arm and led me to the desert quarter. When he reached the desert he sighed three times. Then he said, "O Kumail, indeed these hearts are vessels (*au'iyat*), the more they hold the better they are. Remember now what I say to you, that mankind are of three sorts: those who are learned in the things of God, those who are seeking to find the way of salvation, and the uncultivated people. These last are worthless fellows, who follow every braying donkey, *who go with every wind*, who do not seek the light of knowledge, and who do not repair to the firm pillar (of faith).

"O Kumail, knowledge (*al-'ilm*) is better than wealth (*al-māl*), for knowledge looks after you, whereas you must yourself look after wealth. Knowledge is a governor (*ḥākīm*) but wealth is governed. *Wealth is diminished by expenditure, but knowledge increases when it is imparted.*¹⁶

"O Kumail b. Ziyād, *the effort in the acquisition of knowledge is a debt that must be paid to knowledge, and it is thus that mankind strive for obedience in this life and for happy circumstances after death—whereas the benefit of wealth ceases when the wealth is gone.*

"O Kumail, the guardians of wealth have died (in spirit), though they are alive (in the flesh), but the learned remain throughout the eternal duration (*mā baqā al-dahr*). Their eyes will be closed, but their words will still survive in the hearts of mankind. Behold, here (and he pointed with his hand to his breast), is surely abundant knowledge! But if I should desire (to find) bearers for it, O God! is it not true that I would come to one who would be quick to perceive but unreliable, one who would be ready to use an instrument of faith in the pursuit of the world, one who would be ready to exploit for his personal advantage the proofs of God (that are intended) for His creatures, His friends, *His servants*. Or I would come upon one who would be submissive to bearing the truth, but who would have no sagacity in the affairs of life, so that doubt would pierce his heart at the first occurrence of uncertainty. Know that neither this one nor that one would be acceptable.

"Or I might come upon one who would seek with infatuation the pleasures that go with the deceits of lust, upon one who would be greedy in accumulating and hoarding. Neither of these are shepherds of the faith in any particular. They are more like loathe-some camels. *So it seems that knowledge must die with the death of its possessor.* O God, but the earth must surely not be left without one fully obedient (*qā'im bi ḥaqq*) to God, whether he be openly

¹⁶ Ibn Qutaiba, in the *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo, 1930, vol. ii, p. 120, mentions Kumail and cites this comparison of knowledge and wealth as ascribed to 'Ali.

manifest (*ẓāhir*) or hidden in disappointment, in order that the proofs of God, the Great and Glorious, and His explanation may not be in vain. They were few in number but great in significance. Knowledge came upon them suddenly for the truths of their decisions, and by their own desire they reached true rest. They found easy what the easy-going found difficult, and they longed for that which the ignorant feared. They had companionship with the world solely for the sake of their bodies, but their spirits were bound to a place exalted.¹⁷

"O Kumail, the friends (*auliyā*) of God among His creatures are those who call (others) to His religion. By them God preserves His proofs till they give them to those who are like themselves and plant them in hearts like theirs. Alas, the eagerness (I feel) to see them!"

Saiyid Muḥammad al-Nūrbakhsh, (d. 1464 A. D.) the author of the *Nadjma al-Hudā* (lith. Shīrāz, 1329 A. H.), a Ṣūfī commentary in verse on passages from the Qur'ān and on well known traditions from the Apostle and the Imāms, considered Kumail of fundamental importance to the Ṣūfis. He wrote of him:¹⁸ "Kumail b. Ziyād was a companion of the secret of the Amīr al-Mu'minīn, of his doctrines (*ḥaqā'iq*) and mystic revelation (*mukāshafat*), and this was without any intermediary agency (*bilā wāsiṭa*). There is no need to comment on his life, for it is enough to say that he was both perfecter and perfected, and that our devotee's robe (*khirqā*), our rank and our authority, they all come from him."

As may easily be observed, the modern account of Kumail in the *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt* by al-Khwānsārī (d. 1870 A. D.) provides further interesting material.¹⁹ But it is more explicit and didactic in setting forth 'Alī's psychological opinions, and the explanation of *al-ḥaqīqat* is in more obvious accord with later Ṣūfī doctrines:

"There is mention of him (Kumail) also in the tradition in regard to the matter of the soul (*māddat al-naḥs*), when he said,

¹⁷ Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murāj al-Dhahab*, vol. i, p. 56, where the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq ascribes to 'Alī an account of a promise that God made to the Prophet Muhammad: "I will appoint the people of your household for guidance. I will bestow upon them the secrets of my knowledge: no truth will be hidden from them and no mystery concealed. I will designate them as my *proofs* to mankind, as those who shall admonish men of my Power and remind them of my Unity." Al-Ya'qūbī's tribute that is here expressed to the household of the Prophet, for their contempt for death, is also mentioned by Ibn Qutaiba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, vol. ii, p. 355.

¹⁸ Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, p. 538.

¹⁹ Khwānsārī, *op. cit.* pp. 537-538.

'I addressed my Master, the Amīr al-Mu'minīn, saying, "I wish you would cause me to know my soul." He said, "O Kumail, which souls (*nafs*) do you mean?" I answered, "O Master, is life (*al-ḥai*) other than a single *nafs*?" He replied, "O Kumail, know that it is four: the growth of plants (*al-namīyat al-nabātīya*); the sensibility of animals (*al-ḥissīyat al-ḥaiwānīya*); the rational spirit (*al-nāṭiqat al-qudsīyat*); and the Divine words (*al-kalimāt al-ilāhīya*). And for each one of these there are five faculties (*quwā*) and two particular characteristics.

"In the growth of plants the five faculties are the retentive (*māsika*), the attracting (*jāziba*), the digestive (*ḥāḍima*), the repelling (*dāfi'a*) and the educable (*murabbīya*). And its two particular characteristics (*khāṣṣatān*) are growth (*ziyādat*) and decrease (*nuqsān*). The source of production (*inbi'āth*) of this growth from an inner center is much like the *nafs* of animals.

"Likewise animal sensibility has five faculties: hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and touching. And in the same way it has two characteristics, pleasure (*riḍā*) and anger (*ghaḍab*). And its stimulation from the heart is particularly like the *nafs* of wild beasts (*al-sabā'*).

"The rational spirit has also five qualities: thinking (*fikr*), remembering (*dhikr*), learning (*'ilm*), endurance (*ḥilm*) and nobility (*nabāhat*). It does not have the same source (*inbi'āth*), but it does have two marked characteristics, purity (*nazāhat*) and wisdom (*ḥikmat*).

"The Divine words (*kalimāt al-ilāhīya*) have likewise their five qualities: duration in the midst of the transient (*baqā fī fanā*); blessing in trouble, excellence in misery, poverty in wealth, and patience in calamity. And they have two characteristics, endurance and compassion (*al-karam*). These have their beginning (*mubdā*) from Allah, and unto Him is their return, which is according to His word, 'and We breathed therein of Our spirit', (Qur'ān 66:12), and 'O thou comforted soul! return unto thy Lord, well pleased and well pleasing' (89:27)."

Khwānsārī's version of the tradition *fī ḥaqīqat* is taken from the *Rijāl*, or book of biography, by Nīshāpūrī. He says that Kumail was one of the particular friends of 'Alī, who in fact had him ride with him on his camel. And once he asked 'Alī this question; "O Amīr al-Mu'minīn, what is essential reality (*al-ḥaqīqat*)?" 'Alī answered, "What have you got to do with *al-ḥaqīqat*?" Kumail said, "Am I not a companion of your secret?" 'Alī said, "Yes, but what

overflows (*yatfahu*) from me will only ooze (*yarshahu*) on you." Kumail said, "Is it like you to discourage a question?" Then 'Ali gave the answer, "Essential reality (*al-ḥaqīqat*) is revelation of the garments of glory without comment (*ishārat*)." Kumail requested, "Explain to me further." 'Ali continued, "It is the effacement of ignorant superstition and the awakening to facts (*sahw al-ma'lūm*)." Kumail said again, "Explain to me further." 'Ali answered, "The rending of the curtain depends on the mastery of the secret (*ghalabat al-sirr*)." Kumail repeated, "Explain to me further." Then 'Ali said, "Light shone forth on the morning of the first day and its effects glimmered forth upon the forms of unity (*ḥayākil al-tawḥīd*)." Still Kumail said: "Explain to me further." And 'Ali answered, "Put out the light (*al-sirāj*) and behold the morn has arrived (*ṭala' al-subḥ*)."

Saiyid Nūr Allāh al-Shustarī, who was put to death in India in 1610 A. D. on account of his Shi'ite opinions, makes several further observations in his account of Kumail in the *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, (p. 250). He first mentions that a famous prayer is attributed to Kumail, a prayer that 'Ali had learned from al-Khiḍr himself. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī relates in his *Zād al-Ma'ād* that on the fifteenth day of Sha'bān, which is the date accepted by tradition for the birthday of the Twelfth Imām, Kumail went to 'Ali and besought him to teach him the prayer that had been given by al-Khiḍr.²⁰ 'Ali consented to dictate to him this prayer, stipulating that it would have especial efficacy on that particular day. Beginning in terms that ascribe grandeur and power to God, it proceeds with petitions for the forgiveness of sins and for mercy in the varying circumstances of life; and continuing in the spirit of earnest supplication, it closes by invoking the blessing of God upon His Apostle and His Imāms,—“those of His people who are on the right side,” (*al-mayāmin min ālihi*).

He calls attention to the fact that al-'Asqalānī (d. 1449

²⁰ In the Prayer Manual that is called "The Key to Paradise" *Miftāḥ al-Jannān*, lith. in Teheran, 1920, this prayer that was revealed by al-Khiḍr to 'Ali and by 'Ali to Kumail is given in full, pp. 59-66. Cf. illuminating article on "al-Khaḍir (al-Khiḍr)" in the Ency. of Islam, which shows that the identity of this popular figure in legend and story is also something of a secret.

A. D.) has mentioned in the *Iṣāba* ²¹ that Kumail was one of 'Ali's distinguished followers for eighteen years.

And al-Shustarī goes on to say that "it was 'Ali's custom, when the sciences and mysteries agitated him, when he felt the desire to make manifest the very essence of knowledge, to signal to Kumail and to impart to him the jewels of the mysteries." He then relates the tradition *fī ḥaqīqat*, and in the course of his comments he mentions the definition of *ḥaqīqat* that is given by 'Abd al-Razzāk, the commentator on the *Gulshān-i-Rāz*, and the author of the *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiya* and the *Sharḥ-i-Manāzil al-Sayirīn*: ²² "al-ḥaqīqat is an appearance (*ẓuhūr*) of the essence (*dhāt*) of the Divine Reality (*al-Ḥaqq*), without the curtain of specification (*ta'yīnāt*), and it is an effacement of the fancied multiplicity (*kithrāt-i-marwhūmah*) in the rays of the lights (*ashī'at-i-anwār*) of the Essence."

He also adds an account of Kumail's death, saying that when al-Ḥajjāj was about to seize Kumail, the latter got word of his intention and fled. But there were some soldiers at Kufa who were of Kumail's people, so al-Ḥajjāj deprived them of certain benefits they had been getting in food supplies. When Kumail learned of this he said to himself, "A man who is old and weak should not at the end of his life be the cause of his people starving." He came then and gave himself up to al-Ḥajjāj, saying, "My return (to Allah) and yours is known to the Most High. And indeed the Amīr al-Mu'minīn himself told me that you would be my murderer." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "Yes, for you were one of the murderers of 'Uthmān." He gave orders therefore for Kumail to be beheaded, and this occurred in the year 702 A. D., seventy years after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is probable, however, that Mas'ūdī's statement that Kumail died when he was confined in al-Ḥajjāj's big detention camp is the more authentic.

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²¹ In the *Rawdāt al-Jannāt* there is this quotation, p. 538, from the *Iṣāba fī Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥāba*. Cf. art. in the Ency. of Islam, "Ibn Hadjar".

²² 'Abd al-Razzāk, *Sharḥ-i-Manāzil al-Sayirīn*, margin, p. 86 ff.

THE MOSLEM ANTAGONIST

(According to the Latin Chronicles of the First and Second
Crusades)

A reading of the contemporary Latin chronicles of the first and second Crusades of Christendom against Islam soon shows that while there may have been a movement of the inhabitants of western Christendom against Moslems, it was not, in this early period, on either side a struggle of religious systems only, or even a rivalry of religious ideas only. The best of these chronicles are the anonymous "*Gesta Francorum*", Raymond of Agilles, and Fulcher of Chartres. As we are looking for a general opinion, it is not necessary to weigh the exact value or particular date of their evidence or to compare it. The anonymous was devout and simple, Raymond devout to credulous, Fulcher devout and erudite; but they all count as good witnesses in the light of mediaeval devotion, simplicity, credulity, and erudition. After them come others of less value as witnesses for the facts, but perhaps of more value for their emotional distortion. The author of the *Gesta Tancredi* is especially concerned with getting praise for Tancred and Bohemond. One Tudebode seems to have made for his history a prose version of the *Chanson d'Antioch*. Robert the Monk exaggerates his betters both in fact and feeling. A certain Gilo of Paris has a heavy-going *Chanson* of his own. And there are other early records which better deserve our name of "write-up". Guibert de Nogent is the best writer of this kind, and may be typical of "Home-front" opinion, after rumors and propaganda have had their way with facts. Writing in his monastery about the year 1110, he has the advantage

of perspective and the disadvantage of distance. As he also writes a satire on saints and relic worship, we may imagine him somewhat sophisticated.

From the first it is to be seen that Islam, as met by the early Crusaders, was not Arab and not engaged in religious warfare, as we subconsciously expect it to have been. The enemy was in fact a Seljuk Turk, and at that time a barbarian; if Moslem, not notably so in Christian eyes, though approved as orthodox in Islam, and indeed notably anti-Shi'ite in "spoiling the Egyptian"; if influenced by Arab culture, not visibly so to the earlier Crusaders. These, moreover, betray themselves to be barbarians also, and none too Christian. The Saints and the Sign of the Cross are much in evidence, but strange things are done "in this sign", and Raymond reports an imperialist St. George as promising "not only Jerusalem, but Alexandria and Babylon and many kingdoms". In fact, the unfortunate Byzantine and Arab empires are both being invaded by Turkish and European barbarians, nominally as defenders or mercenaries, in the result, as conquerors. Egypt not long before had been in the power of Turkish mercenaries and its Caliph Mustansir was humiliated by them beyond belief.

We may look at the inception of the Crusades to show this barbarism. Fulcher gives a version of Urban II's exhortation at Clermont in 1095, which illustrates it. Urban sets forth two reasons for preaching the crusade: (1) that he had heard of the disorders in Christendom—(2) that the Turks and Arabs had reached the Hellespont, overturning churches and devastating the empire. "If you permit it longer," he says, "believers in God will be more widely overcome". There are many versions of Urban's sermon; perhaps there were many sermons. The Monk Robert gives an altogether different version, laying more emphasis upon the outrages committed by the invaders. Saying that he quotes Urban, but not verbatim, he rings the changes upon the Turkish invasion with sword, rapine, desecration of churches, circumcision of children ("their blood upon the altars and in the fonts"). Urban refers

to "Christ's Royal City in the middle of the world, now held captive by his enemies." Jerusalem had been taken in 1097 by the Turks from the less inimical Egyptians. Raymond, who was chaplain to the Count of Toulouse, starts on crusade without preface; as probably most of the Crusaders did, simply following the current eastward, for there were many deep springs of this movement. The Scandinavian invasions were still active, partly through the Sicilian Normans and partly through rougher elements unable to settle down in France. The growth of royal power was pressing upon the feudal system; the younger sons needed new lands; the Pope needed support against an antipope. And, of course, there was a genuine appeal of a church militant to a warlike society to redeem the Holy Places, which had a value then that we can hardly realize now, as outward and visible signs of Christ's presence on earth.

Since Raymond met the Turks and Comans, between Durazzo and Salonika, he confirms their penetration of the Byzantine empire, probably as mercenaries, possibly as wandering bands, such as that of the Catalans later, whose history we know. Fulcher says that they found Anatolia, which he calls Romania (whence "Roum", as Constantinople is called in the East), "rich and fertile, but devastated and lost to the Turks". The war is definitely war against Turks, who indeed since 1055 had controlled the Baghdad Caliphate. The "Gesta Tancredi" claims that Tancred killed the first Turk at Nicaea, which was found in Turkish hands. This author's partiality for Tancred does not prevent his immediate recognition of what circumstances in the end "won the war" for the Turks. "The Turks were defended by their numbers" for one thing, and for another, "Mars favors the Turk with his numbers and with our ignorance of men and places". "The Persians" indeed are made to mention that the Crusaders "offend their God Muhamet". Fulcher recognizes that the "*Vires Mahumicolarum*" include many races, even Indian, and that they are differently armed "*per arces Damasci* (now in Turkish hands), *per*

cannas Arabiae, per pila Aethiopica", but the other Moslems are to the Turks what the Portuguese were to French and British in the Great War, for all the chronicles seem to care for them as opponents. Guibert, reviewing the matter, puts in a letter of the emperor to the Pope, vivid description of the Moslem advance into Anatolia of Turks, their treatment of churches and women and their search after byzants by emetics and other means. He says that "the Parthians, whom we corruptly call Turks" are "pre-eminent in arms and horsemanship, and even in spirit". Richard Knolles, putting a coping stone on the mediaeval idea of the Turks, introduces them, in his Elizabethan "History of the Turks", as "an obscure and base people, before scarce known unto the world; yet fierce and courageous—seeking to gain from the Christians what they had lost to the Tartars".

The first impression of the Turks was shared by others and rises, crescendo: Fulcher gives the Turks a key-note to their war cries with "*ululationibus concrepantes*". Even at Nicaea he has called them, in a phrase which anticipates the lady who fainted needle-in-hand, with heaven in her eye, as "*arces animi et arcubus sagittari*". The showers of arrows get thicker, the howls more resounding. Raymond, while referring again and again to their mobile tactics, makes the point that the arrows came from afar and killed the horses so necessary to a feudal army. "*Discurrere, sagittare, tamen recedere*". Or "*discurrere, sagittare, nimis audaciter incurrere*". Or "The Turks pretend to flee so precipitously that all are precipitated". Tudebode makes the Turks "think they could terrify the Franks with the arrows which had terrified so many other nations, Arabs, Persians, Armenians, Syrians, Greeks". It is plain to him that the Turk is terrible by his weapons, not by his religion, "*Tantus Turcorum timor*". He makes them say, "no nations should be soldiers but the Franks and themselves". Otto de Deuil writing c. 1148 has summed up conveniently: "The Turks attacked (incessantly) when the Crusaders were tired or crossing some mountain, riding around and

shooting with arrows without harm to themselves". The Crusaders could not get the Turks "to hand". "They had neither arms to defend afar, nor horses to bring them close". "The Turks became bold, seeing their enemy hopeless". Otto adds a few more Turkish tricks to help account for the disastrous failure of the Second Crusade, such as preventing horses from grazing, or burning the grass. Robert makes their arrows poisoned. Guibert is good on the subject of the Turkish tactics: "The Turks are keen and strenuous, active on horseback, avoiding an attack, especially shooting as they flee in a warfare of charge and retirement". "It is the opinion of the Turks that they and the Franks are "*Contubernales*" (fellow-pupils in the art of war), "and that they should march together", (a note to be heard again at Gallipoli). There is no doubt that the Turks made a double impression on mediaeval Europe, by frightfulness and by military efficiency; they made themselves both hated and feared. It is known that their tactics were taken over by the Byzantines. The hate and fear were not from Islam, yet they lie behind our estimate of it, so it is important for us to understand, as we do from these chronicles, that much of what we take for Islam engaged in Holy Warfare was barbarian invasion, busy with the warlike ambitions of Tughrul, Alp Arslan, Malik Shah. And we should know that such terrors are of a time of barbarism, one would like to say, long past.

But Islam should know that the Franks also were, in their long past time, themselves barbarian. Tudebode mentions a "lance (spitted) with Turkish lips and noses" which was brought as a present to the Count of Toulouse. At Antioch (1098) the dead Turks were exhumed, robbed, and decapitated—and their heads were counted. Four horseloads of these heads were sent down to the sea to encourage the ambassadors from Egypt to side with the Christians. We may also read, "Our people ate many bodies of Saracens now stinking" (dead two weeks). "So the Lord made the nations fear us, but we did not know it". Guibert notices "shameless ejaculations, not modest tears"

of the Moslems over the treatment of their dead, which to him seems to weigh less than the stabling of horses in Christian churches and the making of a "House of Mathomus" out of the great basilica of St. Peter in Antioch, the lead of whose roof the Christians were soon to sell to Italian merchants. At Jerusalem the Turks "were more affected by the exposure of their dead than by their death". As time went on, however, or as it was realized that there were Moslems and Moslems, there was some mitigation. At Sidon they were allowed to remain as cultivators, and at Tyre even in the city. Perhaps also there were Christians and Christians, for by this time the more civil Venetians were on the scene with vested interest in the conquered society. Meanwhile Guibert says that at Marra the Saracens were offered the sacrament or death, but for the most part the propaganda was that of military frightfulness, not of Christianity. It succeeded only too well for Moslem opinion of Christians.

The blood deepens for the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. Raymond mentions "the Temple of Solomon where they (the Moslems) are wont to celebrate their rites and solemnities", and in it "blood to the knee and to the bits of the horses". Fulcher says that 10,000 were decapitated in the temple itself, "none of them saved, women and children not spared". The streets also were full of dead. Fulcher says that "the Saracens held the temple in great veneration until we took it from them". They were wont there, of course as the scene of Mohammed's night journey to heaven, "to make their praises more forcibly than elsewhere". This is evidently hearsay, for he mentions that Christians were not allowed in. Only Guibert has time to mention "the infinite beauty of gold and silver" of this "simulacrum of the Temple, built by I know not whom" (probably by 'Abd-al-Malik, 691 A. D.). "Of incomparable price and not less incomparable variety, made with walls and folding doors plated with precious metals". The *Gesta Tancredi* seems the more barbarous and blood-abounding for this hallowed setting:

*"Huc, illuc, dextra, laeva, sursum atque deorsum,
Per sata, per dumos, per tecta, per arva, per hortos,
Dissilunt, interficiunt, rapiunt, populantur—
Omnia sanguis erant, nihil extabat sine sanguis."*

Thus the Christians have their revenge on "*pristinus antichristus Mahumet pravus, Mahumet perniciosus*". The values of that age were not the values of ours. We cannot defend our ancestors, but we disclaim responsibility for them. Guibert in his monastery does not fail us for "rivers of blood"—"mountains of bodies", "retribution for the death of pilgrims", but he says it was "inevitable though indiscreet". He says also that the massacre fell upon all alike, "*cunctis generaliter inevitabiliter*" and adds that the Saracen authors state this too. Robert gives a good illustration of his method of improving the story, for he tells of hands cut off and floating in blood on the temple floor until they joined another body (conveniently handleless).

As late as Queen Elizabeth's day, we find Knolles recalling the blood on this occasion. "Thus was the citie of Jerusalem taken with great bloudshed, but with greater honor recovered by those worthy Christians". They are not now considered worthy Christians any more than these Turks are regarded as worthy Turks, but in the East the Christians introduced themselves in blood, and Moslem prejudice against us has battened upon it ever since. The total of the massacre is put at 70,000.

The chroniclers, of course, claim their actions to be Christian, under the guidance of the Church; its relics, the saints and all the hierarchy of heaven from time to time appear in their pages. Even Christ speaks in visions to his faithful Crusaders. But for this there is as much evidence as for Tudebode, (after the *Chanson d'Antioch*), making Cassianus of Antioch, (Jaghi Sijan of Alp Arslan's family), say to Rainald Porchetus, (a hero of the romance): "Deny your God and believe in Malphius and our other gods". Cassianus, (in the fear of treachery, as we shall see), "burned all the pilgrims in Antioch". Doubtless there were Moslem chroniclers ready to picture Turk-

ish barbarians as acting for Islam just as Christian chroniclers claim that Frankish barbarians were acting for Christianity. Even if they, on both sides, thought they were acting for religion, we, on either side, do not now think so, at least of our own side. Guibert notes, "The Turks have usurped the long rule of the Arabs", who were known in Europe to have been long tolerant of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem under the indifferent Fatimite Caliphs, the mad al-Hākim excepted.

Perhaps the slight knowledge on the Christian side of Islamic names may be an indication of slight acquaintance. Fulcher seems to have had a particular interest in names. The army of "Corbagath" (Kerbogha of Mosul), which came too late to rescue Antioch, included Danisnan (Denscheneh ed daula) and Meleducac, (Melek Dekāk, of Damascus), and we meet others recognizable and unrecognizable, Amir soliman, Amir solendas, Amir hegibbe, Coteloseniar, Megascotelan, Baldus, Bollquenari, Boldagis, Amirvilias, Gersaslan, Gigremis, Amirgogus, Artubech, Amirdalis, Amirmoxe, Amircharaor, Duchat, Semelumuch, Gemelumich, Lavendalin, Ginahadolis. Among names of peoples are Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Paulicani, Azimitae, Curti (Kurds), Persians, Agulani. And Raymond has "Bahumeth" for Mohammed. Just as the names are distorted, so are the facts.

Sometimes, however, the Chroniclers tell us facts whose full or potential significance can hardly have reached them, as when we hear rumors of an alliance with Egypt against the Turks. Raymond mentions, as early as the siege of Nicaea, that the Egyptians, whose caliphs were chiefly concerned with their luxuries, had sent ambassadors "to recall their many benefits to their own Christians and to pilgrims". Perhaps Egypt, with her Copts, was in a political sense, a "Christian" country, as sometimes the British are "a great Islamic Power". Indeed the Grandvizirs of Egypt at this time were Armenians (1074-1121.) The Latin ambassadors had been kept a year in Egypt, which Gilo says was out of order "*procedat penitus legatio*". Raymond gives the

reason: "The king of Babylon¹ doubted whether to give his friendship to us or to the Turks". The Turkish Emir in Jerusalem² is even said to have "offered candles and burned incense" at the sepulchre when he heard of the fall of Antioch in July 1098. The Crusaders offered the Caliph, for Jerusalem and for Egyptian help, "to return what the Turks had won from him and to share what we should take with his help from them". The Turks on the other hand offered him: "If he would attack us, they would worship Ali, whom he himself worshipped, who is of the family of Bahumeth; they would accept his coinage and pay tribute". These politics required an alliance of the two rival Moslem cults or a change of the Sunni Turks from one side of the great schism in Islam to the other. The king of Egypt "knew how few we were and that the Emperor Alexius hated us to the death", that is to say that the Christians also were divided. The Latins found that Egypt and Constantinople were in communication through a discovery of letters from the Emperor at Ascalon (after the capture of Jerusalem). Both Raymond and Fulcher feel that the Egyptians, like the Byzantines, are too proud, in fact too civilized. Raymond makes the King of Babylon say: "The Turks are nothing and the Franks nothing, who conquered the Turks". He makes a taunt that the King of Babylon had come to capture the Latins for captives to breed him "warlike families like the genus of the Franks". Egypt's Syrian dominions indeed had long been overrun by the Turks, and had only just been in part recovered by the Egyptians taking advantage of the civil wars among the Turks after the death of Malek Shah and of their pre-occupation with the siege of Antioch by the Crusaders. Guibert says, "The Babylonian rule had long existed with menace to the Kings of the East, but the Turks with arms and ferocious souls had usurped much from them". They were indeed under Saladin to usurp all from the Caliph of Egypt, as they had done from the Caliph of Baghddad under

¹ Röhricht gives the Egyptian Caliph as El Mustali (1094-1101) and the Grand Vizir as Malik el Afdhal.

² Sokman, son of Ortok, the Turk, expelled from Jerusalem by the Egyptians in Sept. 1098.

Tughrul. The doings of Turk with Turk are equally governed by politics. The rivalry between Iconium and Aleppo had allowed the Crusaders to pass the Taurus. And we hear of "Asa" in Turkish hands, attacked by Turks and relieved by Christians.

The value of sea-power and the fatal lack of it by the Latins is made to show from the beginning, but there is unexpected use of it by the Egyptians. Raymond himself went to Cyprus for supplies for Antioch for the Count of Toulouse, from whom King Richard may have inherited this policy of a base in Cyprus, (along with Aquitaine and Marseilles' commercial interest in Syria). He notes that with the Genoese there were thirty English ships at Laodicea, the harbor of Antioch; "in communication with Cyprus and the isles, escorted by Greek ships because the Saracens threatened to fall upon them". Fulcher says, "When, after the fall of Jerusalem, the Christians found it necessary to keep what they had won", they marched first upon Ascalon to meet the Egyptian army coming to relieve Jerusalem. It is clear that this army had a supporting fleet, for Fulcher tells us that after the Egyptian army was defeated (August, 1099) and the head of its leader, Gemelsumekh, was shot on board an Egyptian ship, the fleet went back to Egypt. The Franks and Italians had next to secure the coast cities for their communications and commerce respectively, Tortosa, Akka, Tripolis, Sidon and finally Tyre. Meanwhile there were at least three land invasions from Egypt, which finally joined with the Damascus Turks in an attempt to squeeze out the Latins.

Egyptian seapower was to be reckoned with, for attack as for defence; at any moment the flank of the Latin Kingdom might be turned by sea from Egypt, if it happened not to be guarded by Venice, who was helping with the reduction of the coast cities. There was a fleet at Tyre too, with which the Egyptians often went out "pirate-fashion against the pilgrims". And here also, as at a naval victory at Joppa, the Venetians were at hand with their fleet, at the price of a third of Tyre, to help in its reduction (in

1124). The route of an Egyptian fleet, "scouting and waylaying Christians", is given: "Phara, Mialaris, Gaza, Ascalon, Joppa, Caesarea, Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, Beyrout, Tripolis, and away to Cyprus", reminding us that here were the old and rich "Phoenician" markets at stake.

Fulcher continues his narrative, after the taking of Jerusalem, through a weariness of wars on all sides. He says himself: "Perhaps the hearers will grow weary if everything done in war, by force or wit, is recited". A few odd matters of interest appear. He is filled with wonder that "so few have defeated so many", as one well may be. Besides the divisions of the Moslems and gradual Venetian and Genoese naval superiority, it is plain that Christian frightfulness served its purpose. When Baldwin came on from Antioch to succeed Godfrey, the Emirs of the towns to be passed sent provisions "more through fear than for friendship, feigning friendship, but having a wicked heart". By the way, Fulcher records, "Even the Saracen wept for the death of Baldwin", ³ so it may be that there was a local Arab population glad for a while to escape from Turkish rule as in our own day.

As for the Arabs, though Fulcher indeed says, "God only can count them", the picture is too full of the Turk for them to be seen, save occasionally when mentioned among his forces. Baldwin's expedition to the Red Sea is indeed described. Baldwin showed Fulcher shells and pebbles in evidence. In the Dead Sea country, the "Saracens hid in caves with their beasts and possessions", and, by way of acquaintance with the Crusaders, when fire was put at the entrance, were beheaded as they came out. "We ate their flocks and herds, and draught animals and grain, and could find nothing more of use to us". Raymond says that in the neighborhood of Ascalon, "The Arabs were pasturing flocks of sheep and innumerable herds of cattle and camels, beyond count". They were three thousand shepherds in arms, and seem more to have been an Egyptian supply

³ Baldwin had developed his fatal illness during an invasion of Egypt in 1117.

train, especially as mention is made of an "Ammiratus" with "a golden ball on the end of his spear".

Thus we see the Turks, "terrible" though they were, losing both by land and by sea. They lost chiefly by their own dynastic divisions, but we may see another handicap in the local populations over which they bore rule. Their power in Syria rested upon that of the supplanted Shiite Egyptians, who themselves had conquered the Orthodox Arabs. And all Moslem power rested in turn upon the conquered Greek, who, of course, was in these parts a conquered but rebellious Armenian or Syrian nationalist. The Latins were to inherit this weakness of foundation, but for the present profited by it. As regards the relations of the Turks to the native population, Fulcher mentions that sixty thousand Christians were "compelled to surrender their handsome boys—*ad circumcidendum et turcandum*", an early Seljuk instance of the later Ottoman-Janissary system. They made "*baphumaria*" or mosques of the churches. "*Rabie permoti*", they killed Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians during the siege of Antioch (in 1098) and shot their heads over the walls, the Franks watching. The Christian peasants were keeping the Turks in Antioch well supplied. But "the Turks hated the Christians, fearing they might help the Franks." And Antioch was indeed betrayed by a merchant whose name and nationality seem to be changed at the will of the Chronicler, "Pyrrhus" or "Firouz". Meanwhile the Turks even made the Christians man the walls of Antioch under guard and shoot "willingly or unwillingly". There may have been something more than another of Raymond's miracles when, after the defeat of Iconium's attempted relief of Nicaea, the Crusaders are said to find throughout the district "Turks dead with their horses". This was the time of the lance spitted with Turkish lips and noses and it is noted that, seeing it, the Armenians began to help the Frankish invaders. Guibert explains: "The perfidious race of Armenians and Syrians, middle between the peoples on either side", (and not knowing which would most oppress them), "await the issue of

a battle and join him to whom the victory". Then in the native population there are the "Turcopoli", who are said to be "either brought up among the Turks or of a Christian mother and Turkish father". Robert makes the surprising assertion, "They are a race of the emperor, well taught and accustomed to ships". It is not impossible that the undoubted sea-power of the later Turks began by service of one-time Phoenician or Sicilian sailors in Byzantine service, but we are on firmer ground with the mercenary soldiers of terra firma. The Turcopoli serve the emperor as if they were already the Sultan's Janissaries, together with Sclavi, Pincenati, and Comani. At Nicaea they saved the Turks, rescuing the Turkish garrison and preserving the treasury of Nicaea for the emperor. Tudebode mentions that the Turcopoli raided the Crusaders and that Baldwin offended the Emperor by punishing them. We may conclude that while the native population may have been a weakness to the Turks, they were not a strength to the Crusaders, who indeed can find nothing too bad to say about the Greeks and no praise for the Armenians or Syrians. We can argue no general disloyalty of the native Christian population to the Turks, nor loyalty of the Christian population to the Christian but Catholic invaders.

As regards the relations of Turks and Crusaders, though Raymond quotes Christ himself as saying that Franks must fight Turks, yet the Franks have all the other purposes natural to invaders and are found busy fulfilling these. Only occasionally do they seek to convert the Moslem rather than kill the enemy, and seldom, if ever, do they do anything that might be called truly Christian. On the other side, though the Turks, as the Christians, might use religion to recruit their armies, they are not found in this period behaving in the manner of "Jihad" or Holy Warfare, much less as good Moslems. When Turks insult the cross on the walls of Jerusalem, they are insulting the cross-bearers. We may see how religious and racial antipathies became confused. Even at this date it wounds our religious

susceptibilities to read of such insults, whereas it is really our noble Nordic rage that is being aroused.

Turks and Franks are seen to have been against each other far more than Moslem and Christian against each other, and perhaps little more than Sunni Moslem were against the Shi'ite Moslems and about to overcome them in arms, or Christian Romans were against the Orthodox Christians and about to overcome them in arms. While this paper has been written to collect the references of the crusading Christians to their rivals of another religion, its point is to show that the encounter was more in line of warfare than of religion. Even when there was a contemporary confusion of warlike and religious motive, it was for the ends of war. We, therefore, whether we are Moslem or Christian, must blame war and the barbarism behind it on both sides, rather than religion on either side, for the embittered relations between Christian and Moslem which date from this period. And not only must we blame war, but the lying words which have recorded it as a war of religion, calling for more crusades and more religious warfare even to this day. There is an Arab proverb to the effect that wounds of the tongue are never healed, but on our side we have the old saying "*magna est veritas et praevalabit*". We must hope for true words to show that there is no wound in false words. Crusade and Jihad were alike wars of this changing world, and since they are finished, let there be the peace of God and good will of all men in Christendom and Islam.

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SINS AND THEIR PUNISHMENT IN ISLAM

In Ibn Qaiyim al-Jawzīyah's *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*¹ ("Book of the Spirit") we find a remarkable list of sins which, the author believes, incur the punishment of the grave. Nine² of the book's twenty-one Problems or Chapters deal with the Questioning of Munkar and Nakīr and the punishment of the grave. In this article we are concerned with Chapter ix, which contains the long catalogue of sins; and Chapter vi, which maintains that the spirit returns to the body for the Questioning, and that the body and the spirit are punished together, and describes some definite punishments which the Prophet witnessed in *al-Barzakh*.³ The two chapters are so intimately related that the author, before enumerating the sins, recapitulates, by way of illustration, the Prophet's experiences which he has already cited in detail.

The roster of sins is an answer to the question which heads Chapter ix, "For what offenses are the dead punished?" In general, the author asserts, they are punished for "their ignorance of Allah, their neglect of His command, and their disobedient acts against Him."⁴ He does not punish the spirits and bodies of those who are completely true to Him. Ibn al-Qaiyim is then quite specific; he says:

The punishment of the grave⁵ is inflicted for disobedient acts of the heart, eye, ear, mouth, tongue, belly, sex organs, hand, foot, and the entire body. The slanderer, the liar, the backbiter, the

¹ For an account of Ibn al-Qaiyim's life, his significance in Muslim thought, and an outline of his book, see Cooke, F. T.: *Ibn al-Qaiyim's Kitāb al-Rūḥ*, THE MOSLEM WORLD, April, 1935, pp. 129-144.

² Chapters VI-XIV.

³ Ibn al-Qaiyim defines *al-Barzakh* as "what is between the world and the Hereafter" (*Kitāb al-Rūḥ*, ed. 1318, p. 117; ed. 1324, p. 116), and identifies the punishment of the grave with the punishment of *al-Barzakh* (ed. 1318, pp. 92 and 117; ed. 1324, pp. 91 and 116).

⁴ *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*, ed. 1318, p. 123; ed. 1324, p. 122.

⁵ This list of sins is in *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*, ed. 1318, pp. 125-127; ed. 1324, pp. 124-126.

perjurer, the accuser of the innocent, the instigator of discord; he who invites to innovation, he who utters against Allah and His Messenger something of which he has no knowledge; he who pours forth his speech without rule; he who devours usury or the property of orphans; he who devours an illicit bribe or any bribe, or anything like them; he who devours wrongfully the property of his Muslim brother, or the property of a person with whom a contract has been made; the imbibor of intoxicating drink; the devourer of a morsel of "the accursed tree" (Qur'ān xvii:62); the adulterer, the sodomite, the thief, the traitor, the betrayer, the deceiver, the deluder; the receiver and the giver of usury, the writer of the contract for usury and the two witnesses of it, and the one who declares it lawful and the one for whom it is declared lawful; he who uses craft in nullifying the regulations of Allah, and in practicing the things He has made unlawful; the harmer of Muslims and the pursuer of their weaknesses; he who rules heedless of what Allah has revealed; the jurisconsult who issues a legal opinion contrary to what Allah has prescribed; the abettor of crime and enmity; the killer of a soul which Allah has forbidden to kill; the deviator from the prohibition of Allah; he who denies the real meanings of the names and attributes of Allah, having a heretical attitude toward them; he who prefers his personal opinion, preference and rule to the usage of the Messenger of Allah; the wailing woman, and the one who listens to her; the wailers of *Jahannam* (for they are singers of songs which Allah and His Messenger have forbidden), and those who listen to them; those who build mosques over graves and burn candles and lamps over them; those who give short measure, in repaying wealth when they have received it, and in devouring what is against their account when they have squandered it; the tyrants, the boasters, the hypocrites, the faultfinders, the calumniators, the revilers of the Early Muslim Fathers; those who go to soothsayers, astrologers and diviners, and question them and believe them; and the helpers of unjust men who have sold their own future world for the present world of others.

He who, when you tell him to fear and remember Allah, neither mends his ways nor restrains himself, but when you tell him to fear a created thing like himself, he fears, mends his ways, and stops what he has been doing. Also, he who guides others by the Word of Allah and His Messenger, but is not guided by it himself, and shows no regard for it. When he receives news about someone whom he honors, from a person who does evil and sins, he holds fast to the latter and does not disagree with him. One who recites the Qur'ān to him does not impress him—he likely finds it dull, but when he hears the recital of Satan and a talisman for adultery and the

subject of religious hypocrisy, his inner self is pleased and stimulated, and the impulse to joy is roused in his heart, and he wishes that the singer would never cease.

He who swears by Allah and lies; but when he swears by nuts or by the head of his *shaikh* or his relative, or by the drawers of youths or the life of one of the creatures whom he loves and respects, he does not lie, even if he is threatened and punished. And he who glories in and boasts of disobedience among his brethren and fellows, doing it openly. And the man whom you do not trust with your property and your womenfolk; and the ribald man whose obscene tongue everybody abandons, for fear of his foulness and his badness.

The one who puts off the Worship till the last period of its time and pecks at it, and remembers Allah only a little in it. He does not pay legal alms on his property, but keeps the enjoyment of it for himself. He neither goes on the pilgrimage nor pays his rightful obligations, although he can do both these things. He does not abstain from ogling and talking and eating and striding along, nor does he have scruples about anything legal or illegal that obtains wealth. He is not intimate with his tribal kin, and he does not pity the poor person or the widow or the orphan or the brute beast. On the contrary, he "rejects the orphan and does not urge the feeding of the poor" (Qur'ān cvii:2,3), and "is hypocritical" toward the worlds, "and denies alms" (an allusion to Qur'ān cvii:6, 7), and is busy with the faults of people rather than his own fault, and with their sins rather than his own sin.

The graphic punishments and the explanations of the same which Ibn al-Qaiyim records are traditions of Muḥammad's Night Journey (*al-isrā*, Qur'ān xvii:1) and Ascension (*al-mir'āj*).⁶

A tradition is related in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī on the authority of Samurah bin Jundub,⁷ who said: "The Prophet, when he performed a Worship, turned his face toward us and said, 'Who of you has seen a dream-vision tonight?' If anyone had seen a dream-vision he would relate it and he would say, 'What a marvel Allah has done!' Muhammad asked us one day saying, 'Has anyone of you seen a dream-vision?' We said, 'No.' He said, 'But I saw two men tonight. They came to me, took my hands, and led me forth to the

⁶ The traditions of the Night Journey and the Ascension translated here are in *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*, ed. 1318, pp. 92-97; ed. 1324, pp. 91-96. D. Miguel Asín Palacios, in *La Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919, pp. 7-48, summarizes various versions of the traditions of the Night Journey and the Ascension, and compares them with the *Divine Comedy*. This material is also in the English version of Asín's work, translated and abridged by Sunderland: *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, London 1926, pp. 3-35. Cf. Blochet, E.: *Les Sources Orientales de la Divine Comédie*, Paris 1901, pp. 2-8.

⁷ Wüstenfeld, F.: *Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte*, Göttingen 1850, p. 155. Wüstenfeld's *Das Leben Muhammed's nach . . . Ibn Hishām*, Göttingen 1859, p. 560, gives the forms *Jundab* and *Jundub*.

Holy Land. And behold, there was a man sitting, and a man standing with an iron javelin in his hand, which he was thrusting into the other man's jaw, until it reached the back of his neck. Then he would treat his other jaw similarly; meanwhile that first jaw of his would mend. He would repeat, doing the same thing. I said, 'What is that?' They (my two guides) said, 'Go on.' We went on until we came to a man lying upon his back, with a man standing at his head with a rock or a stone, crushing his head with it. When he struck him, the stone rolled down, and he went to it to pick it up. By the time he returned to him his head had mended and resumed its former state; so he struck him again. I said, 'What is that?' They said, 'Go on.' We went on to a conical structure like an oven, its top narrow and its base broad, with fire blazing under it. Behold, within it were naked men and women. A flame would come from below them. When it approached they were flung up so that they nearly went out; when it subsided they returned. I said, 'What is that?' They said, 'Go on.' We went on until we came to a river of blood, with a man standing in it.⁸ In the midst of the river was a man with some stones in front of him. The victim who was in the river would step forward, but whenever he wanted to go out the other man would strike him in his mouth with a stone, and he would return to the place where he had been. He made it happen as often as he started to go out—he would strike him in his mouth with a stone, and he would return as he had been. I said, 'What is that?' They said, 'Go on.' We went on until we came to a verdant garden with a great tree therein, at the foot of which were an old man and some children. And behold, there was a man near the tree with fire in front of him, which he was kindling. They (my guides) had me climb the tree and enter a dwelling (a fairer one than which I had never seen), in which were old men and boys. Then they had me climb up and enter a dwelling most fair and excellent.

"I said, 'You have taken me around tonight; explain to me what I have seen.' They said, 'Certainly. The one whom you saw having his jaw torn asunder is the liar who narrates with lies. He bears the punishment for it to the very horizons; it is done to him to the Day of Resurrection. The one whom you saw having his head crushed is a man whom Allah taught the Qur'ān. He preferred sleep to it at night, and he did not carry it out by day. It is done to him to the Day of Resurrection. As for those whom you saw in the conical structure, they are the adulterers. The one whom you saw in the river is the devourer of usury. As for the old man who was at the foot of the tree, he is Ibrāhīm. The children around him are human children. He who kindles the fire is Mālik (see Qur'ān

⁸ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Būlāq 1314, part 3, p. 59. 34, 24, as numbered in Wensinck, A. J.: *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927.

xliii:77), the guardian of the Fire. The first abode is the abode of believers in general. This is the abode of the martyrs. I am Jibrīl and this is Mikāil. Now, lift up your head.' I lifted up my head, and behold, there was a castle, like a cloud. They said, 'That is your abode.' I said, 'Let me enter my abode.' They said, 'You have remaining to you some life which you have not completed. As soon as you shall have completed it you shall go to your abode.'"

The foregoing is a proof text concerning the punishment of *al-Barzakh*, for the dream-vision of the prophets is an inspired revelation which corresponds to the fact itself. Al-Ṭaḥāwī related on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "There was a command concerning one of Allah's creatures, that he be beaten in his grave with one hundred stripes. He did not cease asking and beseeching Allah, till the number of stripes became one. His grave was filled with fire above him, and when it was removed from him he recovered and said, 'For what have you flogged me?' They said, 'You performed the Worship without ablution, and you passed by a wronged person without helping him.'"

Ibn al-Qaiyim states that al-Baihaqī relates a tradition of the Night Journey which goes back to the Prophet through al-Rabī' bin Anas, Abū'l-Āliyah and Abū Hurairah. The Prophet, accompanied by Jibrīl,

came to some people whose heads were being crushed with stones.⁹ Every time they were crushed they would resume their former state, with no respite at all for them from that ordeal. He said, "O Jibrīl, who are those?" He said, "Those are they whose heads held back from the Worship." Then he came to some people wearing patches front and back, grazing as animals graze, on *al-Darī'*, *al-Zaqqūm*,¹⁰ and the heated stones and rocks of *Jahannam*. He said, "Who are those, O Jibrīl?" He said, "Those are they who do not pay alms on their property." Then he came to some people who had before them some meat from a pot which was wholesome, and some other meat which was putrid. They had to eat of the putrid meat and leave the wholesome, good variety. He said, "O Jibrīl, who are those?" He said, "That man, although he has a lawful virtuous wife, gets up and goes to a loose woman, who spends the night with him till dawn." Then he passed by a man who had heaped up a great pile of wood. Although he could not carry it, he wished to add to it. He said, "O Jibrīl, what is that?" He said, "That man is of your people. He has a trust which he cannot fulfill, but he is adding to it." Then he came to some people

⁹ The traditions in this paragraph are found in the *Tafsīr* of al-Tabarī, vol. xv, p. 6.
¹⁰ See Baidāwī on Qur'ān cxi:5 for *al-Darī'* and *al-Zaqqūm*. *Al-Darī'*, Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1788. For *al-Zaqqūm*, see article *Djahannam*, *Ency. of Islam*, vol. I., p. 998.

whose lips were being cut with iron shears. As often as they were cut they resumed their former state, without any respite for them. He said, "O Jibrīl, who are those?" He said, "Those are preachers of sedition." Then he came to a small cavern from which a large bull¹¹ was going out. The bull began to wish to enter by the way he had gone out, but he could not. He said, "What is that, O Jibrīl?" He said, "That man spoke a word which he regrets. He wishes to retract it but he cannot."

Al-Baihaqī also relates concerning the tradition of the Night Journey from the narrative of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "Jibrīl and I ascended, and Jibrīl asked admission. And behold, Adam, his form like that on the day when Allah created him according to his image. The spirits of his believing offspring presented themselves to him and he would say, 'A good spirit and a good soul! Place them in *ʿIlīyūn*.' Then the spirits of his wicked offspring presented themselves to him and he would say, 'A wicked spirit and a wicked soul! Place them in *Sijjīn*.' Then I went on a little and behold, we (saw) some small tables with sliced meat on them, but no one was near them. And behold, there were some other small tables, with meat which smelled and stank. There were people at them, eating it. I said, 'O Jibrīl, who are those?' He said, 'Those are they who neglect the lawful thing and do the forbidden thing.' Then I went on a little, and behold, we (saw) some people whose bellies were like buildings. Whenever one of them rose he would fall down saying, 'O Allah, do not establish the Hour.' He said, 'They are of the way of the people of Pharaoh. The way comes and afflicts them, and they cry out.' I said, 'O Jibrīl, who are those?' He said, 'Those are "they who devour usury. They shall not rise, except as one rises whom Satan touches with madness" (Qurʾān ii:276).' Then I went on a little, and behold, we (saw) some people whose lips were like the lips of a camel, and their mouths were open. They would swallow live coals, and then they would come out from their hinder parts. I heard them crying out and I said, 'Who are those?' He said, 'Those who devour the property of orphans unjustly.' Then I went on a little, and behold, we (saw) some women suspended by their breasts, and heard them crying out. I said, 'Who are those?' He said, 'Those are the adultresses.' Then I went on a little, and behold, we (saw) some people whose flesh was being cut from their sides, and they were swallowing it. Someone said, 'Eat as you used to eat of the flesh of your brother.' I said, 'Who are those?' He said, 'The faultfinders of your people.'"

A tradition is related in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd from the

¹¹ Read *thawr*. The Haidarābād Dakhan editions of 1318 and 1324 have *nūr*.

tradition of Anas bin Mālik, who said: "The Messenger of Allah said, 'When I ascended, I passed by some people with nails of copper who were scratching their faces and breasts.' I said, 'O Jibrīl, who are those?' He said, 'The ones who eat the flesh of men and slander their good name.'"

Ibn al-Qaiyim's imposing array of sins and punishments leads him inevitably to the clear and logical conclusion: ¹² "All the foregoing people and those like them are punished in their graves for those offenses, according as they are many or few, small or great. Since most people are like that, most of the people of the graves are punished; very few of them escape."

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¹² *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*, ed. 1318, p. 127; ed. 1324, p. 126.

NEAR EASTERN ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM OF CHURCH AND STATE

The problem of the relationship of Church and State is no new one, but it is much to the fore in contemporary thought. In the West the discussion of the problem is complicated by differing concepts of the nature of the Church and varying ideologies of the State, but the issues are fairly clear-cut and the use of terms is quite definite. In the Near East, however, the problem of the relationship of Church and State is further complicated by the presence of two factors long since gone from Western thought, and the whole question is then further confused by an uncertain and often erroneous equation of terms.

The first of these factors is the concept of the Church as fully including the State, thus denying, in effect, the existence of any problem. This totalitarian aspect of religion was lost in the West with the Renaissance—unless the early years of Puritan New England and the persistence of the Vatican State be considered worthy of note as exceptions—but in the East it remains a key to the understanding of the Muslim culture, as Dr. Edwin E. Calverley has amply shown in a recent number of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*.¹

The second factor is the existence of the Millet System, whereby minority religious groups have been given a large measure of self-government, as integral parts of the administrative machinery of the State. While such an organization was both natural and effective, in its original setting, changing circumstances and the political developments of the nineteenth century have made the existence of the Millet

¹ Calverley, E. E., "Islam: An Interpretation", *MOSLEM WORLD*, January, 1938.

System crucial in the determination of the history of both Churches and States in the Near East.

Authorities writing in the field of Near Eastern History have commonly observed the peculiar relationship existing there between ideas of nationality and ideas of religion, and they have frequently had recourse to the use of the term *millet*, for the lack of any precise equivalent in European languages. *Millet*² thus takes its place along with *dhimmi*, *ra'āyā*, *kharāj*, *jizya*, and *shari'a*, for instance, as one of the technical terms necessary in the vocabulary of those dealing in any precise way with the history and the culture of Muslim lands. The following may be taken as a working definition:—The Millet System is a provision for the government of subject minorities whose religious faith differs from that of the governing institution of the State, and who are, therefore, limited in their citizenship by virtue of the fact that the laws of personal statute are based upon religious sanctions. Such subjects are hence classified according to their creed or rite, and certain phases of their civil administration are committed directly to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical organization of the sect, under the oversight of the Head of the Millet (*Millet-bashi*) who is usually the ranking member of the hierarchy (Patriarch, Chief Rabbi, etc.) and who is, in turn, directly responsible to the State for the administration of all its subjects belonging to that particular religion.

Such an administrative organization of minorities was common to all the Ancient World, with its concepts of the State as rooted in religion, hence of all law as religious law, and hence of the inapplicability of such law to persons not adhering to the State religion. In the phrase of De Rausas, "Religious law is necessarily personal, being made for believers and for believers only. It is like divine grace, of which only the initiated can partake." This arrangement operated to give the maximum of toleration to groups whose religious variance from the Church-State made them

² The term is used in its Turkish rather than its Arabic form (*al-milla*) in that it assumed its technical meaning and became a crucial idea in that language during the Ottoman period.

naturally subject to suspicion and discrimination. Until the time of Charlemagne, and in some regions well on into the Renaissance, minorities in Europe were governed according to the *millet* principle; but the rise of independent kingdoms, increasingly jealous of their territorial sovereignty, gradually dissolved the religious minorities into various sects, differing in religious matters but sharing more or less in the common political life and consciousness of the State.

While the Millet System was dying in Europe, however, events in the East served only to strengthen and consolidate it in the form that it has kept there until modern times. Not only has Islam been able to maintain its totalitarian character much longer than Medieval Christianity did, but also the Islamic State, embodied in the Ottoman Empire, was faced with the necessity of governing increasing numbers of Christians and Jews, as the Empire expanded into Europe. Just as the West was reorganizing its life into more or less homogeneous and compact units, the East was faced with the problem of administration of larger and larger heterogeneous groups, and it was only natural that it should do so on the *millet* basis. That fact should be a cause of great gratitude to the peoples long included in the Ottoman Empire, for it preserved to them their own institutions and organizations as no other system would have done. The Ottoman Empire was a refuge for the persecuted sects of Europe, particularly for the Jews, who found there, in their *millet* autonomy, a liberty denied them in the West. A recent Turkish writer bitterly laments that the Ottoman Empire did not "Westernize" in the sixteenth century, thus removing the minorities problem which so plagued it in the nineteenth century!

Looking back over the centuries, in the light of later developments, it is indeed hard to see how the *millet* groups could have been given such independence. Studied in the records and according to the situation of the time, however, the arrangement seems perfectly justifiable. It was certainly a practical working arrangement for a difficult

situation. It was the most humane and "civilized" of the alternatives open to the State, under the circumstances. It brought to the service of the State the loyalty and industry of minority groups. Most important of all for our understanding of the medieval use of the Millet System is the fact that neither of the changes that were to prove the undoing of the system had yet begun to appear before the end of the sixteenth century.

The first change was the decline in power of the central administration of the State. Whereas the Sultan and his household had been the focal point of the loyalties of all the people, and their reliance for justice and for prosperity, now the central government was weak and corrupt. Individuals came to look to their local leaders—feudal lords, local bishops, or provincial authorities—for such security and assistance as were to be found. The political and administrative power in the hands of the *millet* authorities, previously exercised as loyal intermediaries between the State and the people, began to be exercised, more and more, in their own right. Positions of leadership in the Church became increasingly positions of political importance. By the nineteenth century one Athenian newspaper could write, "A bishop must have nothing of the priest about him except his robes. Unless he combines the courage of a soldier with the guile of a diplomatist and fitness for high command, he may be a saint but he is no fit pastor for militant nationalities."³ It was only the decay of the Ottoman administration, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that made such a change possible in the position of the minorities.

The other great change which could not have been foreseen in the fifteenth century was the crystallization of Western political thought along the lines of nationalism. Though slow to reach the East, the influence of the French Revolution was sure to penetrate into the remotest part of the Ottoman Empire—particularly after the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt had vividly contrasted the new in the

³ Quoted by H. C. Luke, "The Making of Modern Turkey", London, 1936, p. 89.

West with the old in the East. The ferment of the new idea was sure to work in the East, as it worked in all lands of both Europe and America, but in the Ottoman Empire its form was to be shaped by the presence of the Millet System. In its essence the *millet* was horizontal, without emphasis on geographic boundaries or linguistic unity. The Nation, in its new Western sense, emphasized just those things, to the neglect of religious conformity. Hence it was wrong to identify the two, but, by the accident of circumstances, it was the *millet* that adopted the new ideas and came to think and speak of itself as a Nation. *In that false equation of terms, lies a large share of the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Near East, and the crux of its problem of the relation of Church and State!* It may be a matter of academic curiosity what term is the proper Western equivalent for "millet". It was a matter of life and death, however, what Eastern term should assume the dynamic force of the terms "nation" and "nationality" in the nineteenth century. For good or ill, it was the term "millet" that came to receive that force. It was the Christian minorities that first thought of themselves as Nations, struggling for independence and reorganization on the sharp territorial and linguistic lines laid down by the West. By the time the Ottoman leaders saw the danger it was too late to alter the trend of events. Attempts to identify the Nation with the whole Ottoman Empire were seriously made, but in vain. Turkish nationalism, in the narrow sense, rose to meet the swelling nationalisms of the Christian minorities, and the inevitable result was bloodshed and woe.

Since the Great War the Turkish Republic has formally abolished the Millet System, but its influence lives on in the common association of terms: Muslim and Turk, Christian and Armenian or Greek, and in references to members of the "Armenian Nation" who are new Turkish citizens. Though the government and enlightened leaders of the minorities are working to bring true religious liberty by freeing all religious groups of their old political con-

notation as "*millet*s", it is still a long road to the day when all subjects of Turkey will think of themselves, and be equally thought of, as "Turks", regardless of their religious affiliation. The process is still slower in the former Ottoman provinces which have inherited the *millet* psychology without the reforming zeal of the Turkish Republic. There also it will come, however, as in Syria, where the Cross and the Crescent have frequently appeared together on banners of the Nationalist Party. When that change has been accomplished, the problem of the relationship of Church and State will remain at least as complicated in the East as it is in the West. In the meanwhile it is more involved, to the degree that the totalitarian concept of Islam and the *millet* concept of minority religious groups maintain their validity.

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ALFORD CARLETON.

A THEOLOGICAL POEM

(Being a translation of the theological poem: 'Bad' al-Amālī' of Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Ūshī)

The problem of writing theology so that it will interest and instruct the layman is not confined to our age, or our faith. About the year 569 A. H. (1179 A. D.) a certain Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Ūshī al-Ḥanafī¹ tried to solve the problem by putting theology into verse. There is a biographical notice of the author in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Supplement*, I, p. 764. This poem, due to its brevity, simplicity, orthodoxy and beauty of language, has enjoyed a wide popularity. It is included today in the *Majmū' al-Mutūn*, the collection of texts authorized for the study of theology in al-Azhar and similar schools over the Moslem world. Brockelmann lists seventeen commentaries on the text in Arabic alone, and believes that more will come to light in the Stambūl collections. The Turks have published a paraphrase of the poem, together with a Turkish commentary, as well as a translation of 'Alī al-Qārī's commentary: 'Daw' al-Ma'ālī fī Bad' al-Amālī'. This is the best known of the commentaries. There are also two Persian commentaries of the Arabic text.

The poem is variously named in the collections. The best description is the title: *Al-Qaṣīdah al-Lāmiyah fī'l-Tawḥīd*, i.e., "The *qaṣīdah*, or ode, concerning theology, each line of which ends in the letter *lām*." Sometimes it is called *Al-Qaṣīdah*: "*Yaqūl al-'Abd*," "The slave says," after the opening words. It is best known, however, by the title: '*Bad' al-Amālī*', "The Beginning of the Dictations," taken also from words in the opening line.

¹ See *Ency. of Islām*, IV, 1049.

The poem has great value for study by the missionary to Moslems. In short compass it gives an outline of orthodox Moslem doctrine. Even the casual student of Islam can hear in many lines the tramp of opposing armies, and the din of the theological controversies that shook the Moslem world. Its value lies even deeper than that, for the popularity of the poem, in the past and today, has made it a contributing factor to the life of the people. "To the Moslems I became a Moslem, that I might gain the Moslems"—so might I Cor. 9:20 read in the testaments of those who are missionaries to Moslems. To enter into the thought-life of the people, to study sympathetically the things they study, to seek to understand the factors that have moulded their religious life is both our duty and our high privilege. Only in this manner can we expect to bring to them the unsearchable riches of Christ.

Therefore, as the author himself bids us do, let us enter into this poem, earnestly seeking to understand the devotion of mind and heart that went into its composition, and which it has engendered in the lives of many Moslems from that day until now. We believe that such study will open doors to the understanding and appreciation of those amongst whom we work,—and who can estimate the value of such understanding and appreciation?

1. In the beginning of these dictations, this slave declares His purpose to set forth the Unity of Allah in verses that are like matched pearls.
2. The God of all creation, our Lord, is eternal;
With the attributes of perfection must He be described.
3. He is the Living One, the Ruler in every thing.
Divine Reality is He, the One who Decrees, the Majestic One.
4. 'Tis He that wills the good, also monstrous evil;
Yet He desires not that which is impossible for Him to desire.
5. The attributes of Allah are not His very essence,
Nor yet other than He, something else, separate from Him.
6. Both His essential and His active attributes
Are from eternity, and to eternity.

7. Allah we call a "thing", but not like other things,
We call Him "essence", but free from the six dimensions.
8. A name is not something else than the object named,
According to the people of insight, who are the best people.
9. My Lord is not substance nor body
Nor "the whole" nor the "part included in the whole."
10. (But to people of intelligence, the existence
Of the indivisible atom is a reality, O my cousin).
11. The Qur'ān is uncreated;
The speech of Allah transcends the category of utterance.
12. The Lord of the Throne is above the Throne but
There must be no ascription of ascendancy over it, or
contact with it.
13. In no way may there be comparisons with the Merciful
One—
Therefore guard all peoples from that!
14. Over Him, the Requirer, time passes not
Nor changes of condition, nor seasons, in any way soever.
15. My God is without need of women
Or children, male or female.
16. Similarly, He the Majestic One, the Exalted
Of every agency of help or successful assistance is independent.
17. He causes His creatures perforce to die, then will revive
them
And will requite them appropriately.
18. Gardens and bliss are there for the good people
But the unbelievers are overtaken by a terrible punishment.
19. Neither Hell nor the Gardens shall pass away
Nor will their inhabitants be removed.
20. The believers shall behold Him, (although we specify not
the means
Or the measure of perception, or the manner of His
appearance)
21. When they behold Him, all other bliss shall they forget—
How great is the loss of the Mu'tazilah!
22. Acting for the best can never be laid as a duty
Upon the One Who Guides, the Holy One, the Exalted.
23. Belief in the prophets is a binding obligation,
Also in angels, those honored with gifts.

24. To the seal of the apostles belongs the exalted seat of honor,
The Hāshimī prophet, the kindly one.
25. Leader of the prophets is he, beyond contradiction,
And the crown of the pure ones, without a defect.
26. His religious code abides for all time
Until the day of Resurrection and Removal.
27. The affair of the Mi'rāj is an actuality and a truth.
Concerning it there is an authoritative record of highly respected traditions.
28. Verily the prophets were in safety
Protected from intentional disobedience and removal from office.
29. Never has a prophet been a woman, or a slave
Or a person given to intrigue.
30. Dhū'l-Qarnain has not been recognized as a prophet;
So also Luqmān—beware of useless discussion!
31. 'Īsā shall come; then shall he bring destruction
To Antichrist, a wretched, wicked one.
32. The wonders performed by saints in this world
Are real phenomena, for they are people of grace-gifts.
33. A saint has never, at any time
Surpassed in rank a prophet or an apostle.
34. 'Al-Ṣiddīq' (Abū Bakr) had without doubt
A marked superiority over the Companions
35. While 'al-Fārūq' ('Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) had superior claims
and preference
Over 'Uthmān, Dhū Nūrain, a distinguished person.
36. Actually Dhū Nūrain had the preference
Over 'Al-Karrār fī Ṣaff al-Qitāl' ('Alī).
37. After him, 'al-Karrār' is preferred
Over all others—be not concerned!
38. But know that 'al-Ṣiddīqah' ('Ā'ishah) is superior
To 'al-Zahrā' (Fāṭimah) in some qualities.
39. No one cursed Yazīd² after his death
Except those fanatics who go too far in inciting wrath.
40. The faith of one who believes on the authority of others is
considered valid,

² Yazīd Bin Mu'āwiyah, the sixth *khalīfah*, whose army defeated the followers of Husain, the grandson of the prophet, and killed Husain, thus giving the Shi'ah their first martyr. Verses 34-39 were written to deny the claims of the Shi'ah that 'Alī, because of his marriage to Fāṭimah, was the rightful successor to the prophet.

As shown by many types of proof which are like weapon points.

41. Those endowed with rational intellect have no excuse for ignorance
Of the Creator of the lowest and the highest.
42. The confession of faith of a person about to die
Is not acceptable, he having lost the power of obedience.
43. Good works are not accounted
As included in faith, with which their association is required.
44. And not to be judged as unbelief and apostacy
Are debauchery, murder and stealing.
45. The one who purposes defection, after some time
Will be secretly drawn away from the true religion.
46. Uttering words of unbelief (while not believing them,
And living in obedience to Islam), is apostacy from the faith, by reason of indifference.
47. Not to be accounted as unbelief are what one will foolishly say
And rashly express, thoughtlessly when intoxicated.
48. The non-objective is not something seen, nor a thing
(This I assert) because of penetration that shone as in the blessed new moon.
49. Two different things are they; the created universe is as nothing
Compared to the creative act—Use this as ointment for thine eyes.
50. Violent evil, like the lawful act, is Allah's decree,
Even though my statement be utterly detested.
51. Every person in his grave shall be tested
By interrogation concerning the Oneness of my Lord.
52. For the unbelievers and libertines are decreed
The tortures of the grave, because of the wickedness of their evil deeds.
53. Entry of the Gardens is a free grace
From the Merciful One, O community of hope!
54. The calling of people to account following the Resurrection,
is certain;
Therefore, be on your guard against mischief.
55. Some will receive their books from the right side,
But others from the back and left.
56. The "weighing of acts" is certain, and the "running
Along the middle part of the *Ṣirāṭ*" is not deceit.

57. The intercession of the good is to be hoped for
On behalf of those who commit sins that are great like
mountains.
58. Petitions have a far-reaching effect—
Although people who are led astray may deny this.
59. Our world is created in time and primal-matter
Lacked existence—so listen with gladness!
60. The Gardens and the Fires have an objective existence;
Over them elapse the seasons as they pass.
61. The believer shall not remain forever
In the abode of flames in expiation of his sins.

CONCLUSION.

62. I have adorned theology by means of a poem
Which is beautiful in form like lawful enchantment.
63. It restfully rejoices the heart like good news
And revives the spirit like pure water.
64. So hastily enter into it, memorizing and believing its words,
That you may receive various kinds of grace-gifts.
65. Throughout all generations be ye a help to this slave
By remembering him for good when in the act of prayer.
66. That Allah, of His grace, will pardon him
And grant him happiness in the sheltered abode.
67. While I, during my lifetime, to the limit of my power
Will pray on behalf of those who at any time shall pray
for me.

Hartford, Conn.

J. LOWRIE ANDERSON.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bektashi Order of Dervishes. By John Kingsley Birge, Ph.D. Luzac and Co., London, and Hartford Seminary Press, Hartford, Conn., 1937. pp. 291. 32 plates. 17s. 6d.

Muslim mysticism, it has been well said, is essentially the "knowledge of religious things that comes directly, immediately to the individual soul, apart from any tradition, apart from reasoning. It comes, they say themselves, as the light comes. It falls upon the surface of the soul as the rays of the sun fall upon a wall, and there it is received" (Macdonald. *Aspects*.) This is a fair statement of the basis of all mysticism, not only Islamic. Flickers, at least, of the mystic attitude toward life have been observed among all peoples and at all times. Some peoples are nearly exempt, but not totally; in no case certainly is its absence predictable. But once the mystical element of any religion, old or new, has begun its development, one may be fairly certain that there will sooner or later appear inevitable characteristics common to all mysticism, whatever the land or the fountain of its source. The Oriental is a mystic, as much a mystic as in popular western view the Orient is mysterious; and though gnosis is essentially a lonely attainment, though the road to the truth as well as its eventual winning is (to judge by all accounts), a personal discovery, the path of every eastern mystic, whether he be Hindu, Persian, Arab or Turk, has revealed itself not so very different from that of his neighbor or predecessor. Though he may have started out alone, he will finally merge his solitude in a community of kindred spirits. This path will be recognized by several as the "only true path", sign posts will be determined, guides will be appointed, the route marked out, the rules established; and so, before long, antinomianism and freedom of mind and spirit will vanish again before authority, and the familiar, eternal round will commence once more.

So with Islamic mysticism. We begin with a strictly monotheistic religion, one in which the diction of prophecy and admonition is so clear and unequivocal that any form of mysticism or asceticism would appear to be ruled out from the very start. But the new religion was not manufactured out of whole cloth; for it was inevitable that the religions that had a part in its conception and the philosophies that it encountered during the period of its early development should bring to Islam not only the doctrines that were congenial to its orthodoxy, but also "hidden teachings", which were eventually to militate against the purity of the original idea. Some may deny that these latter influences were present in Muhammad's environment or his character; few unbiased enquirers can overlook them in the Qur'ān or the Ḥadīth; certainly, and primarily, they were there in the hearts of the men who, out of Jewish, Christian, Manichæan, or

even pagan surroundings, flocked to Islam (or strayed into it). There was one Book, but there were far more than seventy-two readers, and we need only to recall the fate of Ferdinand the Bull in our own time to remember that every book of great appeal must sooner rather than later have its interpreters. The Şūfi had no difficulty in interpreting; he had the ready material, he had the genius, and at the start he needed to conform to no rules or limitations. The dervish, the regimented Şūfi, submits, learns the esoteric law from his *murshid*, and finds (perhaps) his salvation. But he who would interpret the interpreter is less fortunate.

Dr. Birge, in the book under review, has undertaken a difficult task. He is dealing not only with a "secret" mystic order, but with a field whose source material has been imperfectly investigated and whose language presents many difficulties. Above all, the milieu is Anatolia, a melting-pot of peoples, religions and philosophies. At the start let us say that the author is not only a well informed commentator but an unbiased one; or at least his bias is favorable to a fair and sympathetic interpretation of an alien phenomenon. It is refreshing to find a professional Christian approaching his subject in a spirit devoid of that vindictiveness which has so often marred the judgment and conclusions of writers whose business is religion; he apparently has no axe to grind, and has simply attempted to record all he knows about the Bektashis. His qualifications are numerous; he has spent many years in Turkey, where the Bektashi order had its origin and greatest influence; his knowledge of written and (equally important) spoken Turkish is competent; he has had the good fortune to meet and to know well many intelligent former Bektashis in Turkey; and his experience of living Bektashiism in Albania is doubtless unique. Furthermore he is, one would judge, capable of understanding something of the universal language which the Bektashi seeker speaks. Witness (p.100) this statement: "....the friendly student of Bektashiism.....has faith that the mystical experience of all men has something in common. One to whom God has a measure of reality in one system of belief can hope to understand the experience of those of another system who have also had an experience of the Divine Reality. Even when rationalized in entirely different terms there is something common to the experience everywhere". Since the author has attempted an interpretation rather than a history, this latter quality is important. From Dr. Köprülü Zade Fuad and from Dr. Paul Wittek we can perhaps ultimately expect a definitive treatment of the literature and history of the Bektashis and of other Turkish dervish orders; and in time the Bektashi texts will doubtless be edited by competent native or foreign Turkish scholars. Meanwhile the student of this most important order will have in Dr. Birge's book ample material to stimulate and further his interests.

The plan of the book is briefly as follows: a general orientation, an historical sketch in three sections (a) Hājji Bektāsh, (b) Bālim Sultān, the Hurūfī influence and the history of the order down to Mahmūd II; (c) the period from 1826 to the present, a long chapter on doctrines and beliefs, and another on rites and practices, followed by an estimate of the influence of other religious sects upon Bektashiism and the translation of a catechism. The second part of the volume

includes descriptions of the illustrations, a glossary of technical terms, a bibliography and an index.

Throughout the work the author has made the fullest possible use of the Bektashi Turkish sources as well as of the Turkish secondary material (Köprülü Zade, Abdülbaki, Sadettin Nüzhet, Ahmet Refik, Besim Atalay, Hamit Zübeyr, Ziya and many others), and it is in the presentation and analysis of this material, inaccessible to most English readers, that the chief merit of the monograph lies. There is little that is new in the historical section, and though the essential references are there, the critical reader will perhaps be surprised to find Creasy, Gibbon, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, von Hammer, Barbier de Maynard (*sic*), Hasluck and other notable but somewhat unselective and second-hand authorities cited for data which the author could well have supplied from the original sources. In the treatment of Bektashi origins, an important article, in fact the only important article that has appeared on the subject on this side of the Atlantic, has been, apparently, entirely overlooked both in the body of the work and in the bibliography. This is Langer and Blake's "*The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and its Historical Background*" in the *American Historical Review*, XXXVII, pp. 468-505. The student who is interested in the early Bektashi environment would do well to familiarize himself with this contribution before making use of Dr. Birge's historical summary.

The body of the work is the exposition of Bektashi doctrines, rites and practices. Liberal quotations from Bektashi poetry together with an analysis of influences and common heritage provide the reader with nearly all that is necessary for an understanding of the Bektashi genius. One might perhaps offer the criticism that the author has neglected certain influences, e.g., Manichaeism, Mithraism, Buddhism, and overemphasized certain others (notably Shamanism), and that in spite of an avowed effort to avoid the pitfall, much in the way of belief and ritual that is the common property of most if not all of the dervish orders has been characterized as peculiar to the Bektashi. But the fact remains that these two chapters contain a deal of Bektashi source material—a considerable portion of it drawn from the author's valuable manuscript collection—and the reader will come by a quantity of Şüfî lore that will increase his comprehension of the formulae of Islamic mysticism in general. The length of the description of the *aynicem* is certainly out of all proportion to the importance of the ceremony as a religious institution; but there is a virtue in completeness, as this and other rituals have never been described before.

While many of the illustrations are only picturesque and of no particular value to the historian or the student, a few are of considerable interest, such as no. 10 where all the Bektashi paraphernalia are illustrated and described in the accompanying text, and no. 17 where we can study the zodiacal and mystical interpretation of human anatomy. It is unfortunate that the author can give us no better estimate of the age of the latter diagram: he writes that it is "from a photo (*sic!*) made from a very old picture". The illustrated texts are interesting specimens of ornamental calligraphy as well as of *bâtîni* obscurity. No. 12, an inscription in the form of a lion, is provided with a translation, which would be more convincing if it were

accompanied by a transcription of the text. It is interesting to note Qur'an xlii:22, a verse used by Abu-Muslim on his revolutionary coinage, quoted at the top of the text illustrated in plate no. 15. The author is perhaps a bit overcautious in saying that the tomb-stone illustrated in no. 26 "appears rather to perpetuate a tradition than to be an actual memorial from 1451": the stone can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the 20th Century. There is no explanation for the last plate (no. 32), but it doubtless presents the author in conversation with an Albanian Bektashi.

The glossary, largely translations from Sadettin Nüzhet's Bektâşi Şairleri and from Abdülbaki's (Abdülbaki, *sic* p. 251) *Kaygusuz*, will be found useful to readers whether unfamiliar with Turkish or not. Its usefulness would have been greatly augmented if the author had included all of the technical terms used in the text rather than a selection. Typical omissions are: *dergâh*, *gölbenk*, *mürşit*, *rehber*, *tac*, *teber*, *telkin*, and *zaviye*. The incompleteness of the glossary is particularly regrettable in view of the sketchy character of the index. Also the Arabic and Persian scholar as well as the Turkish will wish for a transcription of the spelling of the technical words into Arabic characters or at least some orthographical transliteration to supplement the phonetic modern Turkish (e.g., *bürçüeset*, *büt*, *mimduasi*, *muhip*, *tecidi vuzu*, and *fenafillah*, the latter a bit more comprehensible when it is rendered *fena fillah* as it sometimes is).

The author's choice of the modern Turkish alphabet to render the Turkish words with which the work abounds was perhaps a wise and logical one, and readers whose interests are exclusively Turkish will doubtless rejoice. But the student of Islam in a wider sense will bemoan the deceptive guise in which Arabic and Persian words sometimes appear. Even Arabic and Persian titles, names and expressions disassociated from the Turkish soil and tradition are spelled according to the Latin Turkish system or according to no system at all. Inconsistencies in the Turkish spelling are too numerous to mention, and the pages unfortunately swarm with typographical errors, at least in the Turkish words. As an example to illustrate all of these perhaps petty but still annoying faults, see page 284 (a half-page of text): Miftahul Quran (not italicized, which would make it the Turkish form according to the author's system, and this is hardly an accurate rendering of the Arabic); 1913 as the date of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, instead of 1913-1937; Leipsig (twice); *Düvel*, but *Düvel* elsewhere; Fuad, but Fuat elsewhere; *Humayun*, but *Hümayun* elsewhere; Rodwell and Sale's "Translations of the Kuran" as if they were co-translators; Şemseddin, not Şemsettin; *Kumusu* (*sic*) *Türkî* (*sic*, undotted *i*); *Encumeni* for *Encümeni*. The reviewer has been given to understand that the omission of the circumflexed *i*'s was an unfortunate slip in the printing, but the other evidences of editorial negligence can hardly go unnoticed. There are also misquotations from the Turkish, if the text of *Bektâşi Şairleri* is to be trusted, and some questionable translations.

The Bektashi "secret" (which the author is at some pains to dissect) remains in the final analysis a secret. But is the "secret" really an exclusive one? Is it not rather the universal secret so plain to every mystic, whatever his path, and so obscure to the orthodox? At all events the student of Turkish Islam and of society in the old Turkey

will be grateful to Dr. Birge for his industry in having presented in readable form a mass of material affording a generous introduction to that most charming and broad-minded of all dervishes, the Bek-tashi.

New York.

GEORGE C. MILES.

The Process of Change in the Ottoman Empire. By Wilbur W. White. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1937. pp. 315. \$3.50.

From time immemorial there has existed the idea that treaties are final and sacrosanct, not to be touched or changed. But, actually, treaties have been altered, broken, or treated as scraps of paper, as one of the parties felt strong enough to do it. Statesmen and treaty makers as well as leaders in the field of International Law have made no provision for the dynamic changes which are bound to take place in a world whose societies have refused to remain static. The only way open has been that of force—military, political or economic. Dr. White has used the history of the Ottoman Empire during the last one hundred and fifty years to reveal in high relief the Process of Change. He shows how war followed war, in utter disregard of treaties or of the *status quo*, in the disintegration of the once mighty Ottoman Empire which had become the Sick Man of Europe. As limb after limb was torn from the body of the patient, it was, in the terms of the treaties drawn at the time, the Last, only to have one more, and then another, and still another surgical operation performed, until Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Egypt, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Arab World (Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, Hedjaz, Yemen, etc.) were removed from Turkey.

Then came the World War, and a change in the mentality of at least a few people and a few states. The League of Nations came into being. Along with it there came into the field of practical politics the idea of change in international conditions and relations through peaceful processes. As one reads in this book of the cruel, costly, bloody ways in which the Balkan States won their independence from Turkey, and the peaceful way in which Iraq and Egypt, for example, won their freedom from Great Britain and their membership into the League of Nations, one wonders why men were so blinded in the past and could see no way other than force! As one reads of the manner in which the new Turkey won the right to re-arm the Straits through the Treaty of Montreux, and Egypt to abolish the capitulations through international agreement, and contrasts these methods with the manner in which the Treaty of Versailles has been torn to pieces—rightfully or wrongly is another matter—a manner certain to cause friction and possibly another war, one agrees with the author's thesis that political changes can be brought about and international matters settled without reducing cities to ruins and men to fertilizers!

In arranging the wealth of material in order to analyze his case and prove his point, Dr. White had to cut and condense to a painful extent. But even those who lack the Near Eastern background can follow the kaleidoscopic changes and appreciate the author's case. The book would have been greatly helped by the addition of a number

of maps to enable the reader to see the changes in the Ottoman Empire. The map at the beginning is too small and lacks detail.

The author brings out clearly that one of the causes working for the separation and independence of so many former parts of the Ottoman Empire was Nationalism. To the mind of the reviewer religion, Christian or Moslem, has been one of the causes which contributed enormously to the growth of Nationalism in the Near East. Especially the Greek Orthodox Church has been a vital force in stimulating the nationalism of the Greeks, and of the non-Greek Christians of the Empire, though in the case of the latter from an angle diametrically opposed to the interests of the Greeks and the Greek Church. Yet the religious element and the conflict between Christianity and Islam and its repercussions in the Near East, none the less than in Europe, have been given very limited consideration in this book.

The book brings into view facts concerning the whole Near East down to the end of 1937, and amply rewards any one seeking insight into the complex situation of that part of the world and peaceful ways of solving international problems.

Hartford, Conn.

GEORGE P. MICHAELIDES.

Baghdad Sketches. By Freya Stark. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. pp. 269. \$3.50.

Those who have read the two earlier books by Miss Stark entitled, "The Valleys of the Assassins" and "The Southern Gates of Arabia", will open this volume with great expectations. Nor will they be disappointed. Eight of the sketches here given are the product of a recent visit to Iraq, but the bulk of the volume was written six years ago at Baghdad. The reputation of the author stands high, both as traveler and writer, but the extraordinary thing about this book is its insight into the character of the people. She describes the flood of Westernism and asks the question whether this has come to the East "for baptism or for drowning". The title of the book is in one sense misleading because there are chapters that deal with a much wider field, including an account of the Devil-Worshippers near Mosul, a journey to Kuwait and to the holy cities of Nejf and Kerbela. The whole book abounds in sympathy and humor, in vivid passages which describe in an extraordinary way the actual conditions.

The contrasts which she describes are often startling: "We crossed to the other coast and came to a little hollow of fresh grass with ducks and cows about it, and two mud-built rooms on whose roof, beside the Kuwaiti flag, a white windwheel was turning at great speed, charging the battery of Shaikh Fahd's wireless." Her attitude toward Islam is sympathetic and yet not blind. Describing the fast-month of Ramadhan she says, "The extraordinary unity of Islam comes over me. These crowds are moving through all the cities of the East: from Morocco to Afghanistan, from Turkey to India and Java, they walk abroad through the nights of the Fast. In their shadows they are dim and unreal, less clear to the eye of the imagination than that Arabian Merchant who first set them in motion twelve centuries ago. How firmly he pressed his finger into the clay of the world! So that these sheeplike figures still obey, moving

hither and thither in the night ; and make one think, marvelling at its range of mediocrity and splendour, of the power of the mind and will of man."

There are only two sentences in the entire book which recognize the fact that missionaries have entered this field, and both sentences are derogatory. The illustrations are excellent reproductions of rare photographs and the whole book is treasure-trove for those who love the Near East.

S. M. Z.

Poems of a Persian Šūfī: the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir, rendered into English verse by Arthur J. Arberry, Litt. D. W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1937. pp. 34, 2s.6d.

This delightful little book belongs on the same shelf with Fitzgerald's Omar Khayām. In appropriate meter these English verses express "precisely that combination of naiveté and sincerity which marks the poetry of Bābā Ṭāhir." Their thought content has already been analyzed by Dr. Minorsky in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, but this direct and charming translation allows the reader to feel the very atmosphere of Šūfī life.

One stanza may be mentioned that suggests the story in the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, when a worshipper decided to give up praying because in response to his "Allah" there was no "Here am I", but the reply came that God saith, "That 'Allah' of thine is My 'Here am I', and that supplication and grief and ardour of thine is My messenger to thee." Bābā Ṭāhir's way of saying this is:

O heart, if heart be lover
Then tell me which thou art.
So closely are they mingled,
I cannot tell apart
The Lover and the heart.

Instead of the familiar figure of filial affection that is employed so effectively in the New Testament, the Šūfī writers follow the example of the Song of Solomon and utilize the appreciation of beauty and the passionate ardour that goes with sexual love to express what they mean by communion with the Author and Giver of all things. The question arises as to whether these preachers of mysticism do not sometimes lose their main point in the poetic appeal of their illustrations. For example, we may comprehend well enough what Bābā Ṭāhir means when he writes with due restraint:

How sweet the single purpose
That burneth twin hearts through!
Unanswered love is torment,
The thrill that Layla knew
Majnun discovered too.

But we may have difficulty, as the figure is carried further, in continuing to think of man's relation to God:

Two eyes with *surmeh* languid,
Two curls that idly stray,
A body slim, seductive—
And dost thou truly say,
"Why art thou troubled, pray?"

The crucial issue in the whole Šūfī system is the question of *fanā'*,

which is the cessation of the human personality that is assumed to occur when it becomes completely absorbed in the Divine Being. This question Bābā Ṭāhir touches lightly, scarcely going beyond the point of agnosticism:

O vision of fair Beauty
 With *surmeh*-shaded eyes,
 The breath of dawn is rising,
 The sun is in the skies;
 Where art Thou? Ṭāhir dies.

I go to make a journey
 Beyond far China's shore,
 And, passing, ask the pilgrims
 Who trod this way before,
 "Winds on the road yet more?"

Meshed, Iran.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

Akhlāq-i-Rūhī. By 'Aṭā'Allāh Rūhī. Majlis Press, Teheran, 1937. pp. 472.

As a compendium of the ethical values of Iranian and Arabic literature this work is of real importance. It is based on wide reading of the very best sources, among which are the writings of the great ethical poets,—Sa'dī, Ḥāfiz, Sanā'ī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and many others. The eleven chapters, with their subdivisions, are shown in a neatly printed table of contents, which is as clear as may be found in European texts. Habit, Worship, Truth, Effort, Bravery, Determination, Patriotism, Affection, Justice, Liberality and Service are all made interesting and suggestive, whether for the careful student of Islam or for the thoughtful young people in the schools of Iran, whose needs they are particularly intended to serve.

In the chapter on Truth the author maintains that "a lie, whether it be for advantage or not, is at best an inconclusive expedient that is fraught with detriment to society, and that proves to be ruinous and disgraceful."

D.M.D.

Partaw-i-Islam, "Lights of Islam". By 'Abbās Khalilī Iqdām. Majlis Press, Teheran, 1937. pp. 429.

This book is an Iranian translation from the Arabic *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, "The Forenoon of Islam", which was written by Ahmad Amin in Egypt. It is divided into two parts. The first part is a description of social life at the time of the early 'Abbāsids. Beginning with a chapter on the extent of Islam, it proceeds to explain the dissension that occurred between the Arabs and the learned Persian divines (*mawālī*), describes the Shu'ūbiyya movement, and dwells at length on the effects of slavery on the whole social structure of Islam. A chapter on the merits of cheerfulness and self-control shows how means were found, through the friendly offices of shrewd commentators, to overcome the rigid Qur'ānic prohibition of wine. In the days of the Arabian Nights, drinking and poetry and the music of revelry dominated Baghdad life. Another chapter shows the struggle between heresy (*zandaqa*) and the faith, with

only intervals of freedom for philosophic speculation and investigation. We are informed that at the time of the Caliph Mahdi the beliefs of the Iranian "heretics" came to be well known, especially through the writing of 'Abdulla b. al-Muqaffa and others of those who were familiar with the Persian and Pahlawi books.

The second half of the book is devoted to a discussion of the evolution of social culture and discipline. The cultures of India, of Iran, and of Greece and Rome are compared with the Arab culture. One chapter is given to religious cultures, and the book concludes with a chapter that treats of the outcome of the great amalgamation of culture that took place in the Muhammadan Empire.

D.M.D.

Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra. By R. L. Archer. Singapore and London (Luzac & Co.) pp. 126. \$1.25, Straits.

The Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for September 1937, (Vol. XV, Part II) publishes an article (pp. i, ii; 1-126) on "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra," by Raymond LeRoy Archer. This article was Mr. Archer's doctoral thesis prepared with the assistance of Dr. W. G. Shellabear, my predecessor in the Chair of Muhammadanism in the Kennedy School of Missions of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and a former president of this Branch of the Society when it was known as the Straits Branch. Dr. Shellabear and I have nothing but thanks to the publication committee for assenting to the suggestion that the thesis be published in the *Journal of the Branch*.

There are features of the appearance of the work as printed which are not gratifying. These include the many inconsistencies of diacritical marking and spelling. Apparently the copy of the MS furnished to the printer was followed without taking into account the different page appearance of typewritten and printed work. Those who have had publication experience in the East will understand the factors involved in printing a particularly difficult text.

Turning to the consideration of the subject matter, it is seen to present a brief statement on the History of Šūfiism, an account of Šūfi MSS in the Malay Language, translated from a Dutch Catalogue issued by Het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen in Batavia, Java. At least one book, al-Ghazali's *Kitāb al-qurbah ilā Allāh*, not listed in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* and *Supplement* as extant in Arabic, is noted as existing in a Malay translation.

Chapter V of the work has an account of "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra." This section is valuable because it gives a summary of first-hand information of the teachings of the Muḥammadiyah Party, a modern progressive group of Muslims in Sumatra, who, like the early Šūfis, emphasize the ethical elements of Islam.

With the consent of the author of the thesis and the publisher of the *Journal* two selections from this chapter are reprinted in another part of our *Quarterly*.

Another group of Muslims, the Islāmīyah, are conservative in that they use only translations of the older Arabic presentations of Šūfi doctrines.

The most important sections of the work are chapters III and IV. The latter contains the translation of *al-Hikam* of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh (d. 1309 A.D.), made from a Malay version (cf. p. 13) with constant reference to the Arabic original. The translation is sufficiently annotated. The previous chapter contains the gist of *al-Hikam*, summarizing and clarifying the progress of the author's thought.

Hartford.

E. E. CALVERLEY.

Afghanistan: A Brief Survey. By Jamal-ud-Din Ahmad and Muhammad Abdul Aziz; with a foreword by Sir Muhammad Iqbal. Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., New York, 1936; pp. xx plus 160 plus 67 illustrations and 3 maps. \$5.00.

On the principle that knowledge is good and its dissemination is praiseworthy, this brief survey of a land which is little known to the outside world, and which for one reason or another has remained almost completely inaccessible, is very welcome at the present moment, especially those parts which treat of the geography of the country and its people. The same thing can hardly be said of the second part of the survey, namely the history of the land. Those parts which treat of the ancient history of the country and the early Moslem empires fail to add anything new to our knowledge; while those parts which take up the more recent history of Afghanistan are more of the nature of propaganda than history. The period of Amānullāh's reign and the reforms which he introduced are completely ignored. On the other hand Nādir Shah is given credit for everything good in the land. Whenever he is discussed ecstasy supersedes judgment and hero-worship supplants history. No one can or will doubt the services which he rendered to his country in the hour of need and the grateful devotion which most of his people hold for his memory. But this brief survey puts brevity aside in order to ascribe to him all benevolence and to deny Amānullāh whatever credit is indisputably his and his alone.

The last part deals with the government and the administration of the law of the land. The first chapter under this part is devoted to a discussion of the present ruler Muḥammad Zāhir Shah; it is mostly praise. The remaining two chapters deal with Policy and Constitution and Administration. They purport to give the reader a picture of the political economy of Afghanistan in operation.

The appendices, which deal with the calendar and standard time, postal and telegraphic information, customs and passport regulations, temperature and rainfall, are all very interesting and useful. The three maps which illustrate the work are hardly adequate. Notwithstanding, the work as a whole is useful and, no doubt, very timely.

Princeton University,
Princeton, New Jersey

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Malaysia. A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule. By Rupert Emerson, Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. Macmillan Co., New York, 1937. pp. 536. \$5.00.

With the passing of the great trading companies carrying on indirect rule, the imperialistic European powers of the nineteenth

century turned to a policy of direct control of the subject peoples in their colonies. The remaining remnants of indirect rule were then to be changed to the more efficient form as soon as was feasible. However, a curious change came about: in the first place, indirect rule was found to have certain very definite advantages in colonial administration, and secondly, and more important, "when imperialism was forced to find moral justification in a world whose conscience had been temporarily aroused, it came to its true glorification. The doctrine of self-determination, of the rights of small nations, was in the air, and an ingeniously devised mandates system lent an idealistic cloak to the conquest of the German colonies." As an American student of the subject of colonial government, it is Professor Emerson's purpose to compare these two types of imperialistic control.

After a year's researches in Malaysia under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, the author presents a comprehensive, well documented and thought-provoking account of these two types of rule in the British and Dutch colonies in the Far East.

Concerning the subject of religion, Professor Emerson points to several interesting examples in British Malaysia where the Mohammedan religion is recognized as outside the sphere of the imperial authority. In the treaties of 1895 with the Malay States, the British Protectorate is recognized, and the advice of the British Resident is to be accepted "in all matters of administration other than those touching the Mohammedan religion". The Constitution of Johore of 1895 further provides for a ruler of Mohammedan faith, and by a later amendment Mohammedanism became the state religion. In Kelantan and Trengganu matters of Mohammedan religion, particularly marriage and divorce, are dealt with in special Mohammedan Courts.

Little mention is made, in this book, of religion in the Netherlands Indies except in the case of Bali and Karangasem, where the peculiar position of Hinduism has led the priests to claim the superiority of their spiritual authority over the temporal powers, a claim which must somehow be conciliated.

Berkeley, California

DEHAVAN P. EVANS

Education in Muslim India. By S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (London). Ripon Printing Press, Lahore. 1936. pp. xix., 261. Cloth, Rs. 5.8.0.

This is an interesting study of education in India as conducted under the various Moslem dynasties from the year 1000 to 1800 A. D. Of course the period considered limits the inquiry to that stage of Moslem education which was strictly medieval from start to finish. The influence of modern Western civilization on Moslem education is not within the scope of this book.

The author makes much of the Islamic ideal of education, which he emphasizes as being incumbent on every Moslem man and woman. But in spite of the ideal, barely 9% of Moslem men in India are literate, and barely 1% of the women . . . and this in spite of advanced educational organization. One can only imagine what the situation must have been previous to 1800.

Much is made, also, of the extensive system of *madrasahs* for the training of religious teachers and preachers. A very excellent

account is given of the system of royal education for the princes, and of the education of girls.

The best part of the book, perhaps, is that which deals with the subject of technical education, and of the development of the arts and industries in the Mughal period. The chapter on the Evolution of Urdu is also valuable, but the author's suggestion that it should be made the *lingua franca* of India for Hindus and Moslems alike is not likely to materialize through the medium of the Arabic script. But by the adoption of Roman script there is a real possibility that this may come to pass. It will be a great step forward in the uniting of India's varied peoples if and when this comes to pass.

The book is an interesting and valuable contribution to the study of Islam in India. The sources used are the usual standard historical sources in Persian and Arabic. There is a good bibliography, and a useful index.

Budaun, India.

M. T. TITUS.

John Melly of Ethiopia. Edited by Kathleen Nelson and Alan Sullivan. Faber and Faber, London. pp. 284. \$3.00.

No account of Ethiopia would be complete without reference to the heroic contribution of John Melly—the young English doctor, with social prestige and independent financial means, who chose to devote his life to Christian medical service in Ethiopia. Through his efforts, vision, and determination over \$100,000 was subscribed for a hospital, Red Cross work, and ambulance service among the Christian, pagan, and Moslem victims of Italian aggression. Ironically, Melly's own life was taken by some of the very people he had come to serve.

The book, apparently edited by devoted friends as a memorial tribute to a noble soul, is a compendium of miscellaneous reports, letters, and communiques. As a presentation one wishes for more of an impressionistic biography or interpretation of the man, and for more illuminating comments upon the little-known country he served.

Melly, had he survived, might soon have come to be known as the Schweitzer of the East Coast.

Manchester, Mass.

PAUL SIMPSON McELROY

Present Day Morocco. By Major O. H. Warne. A practical guide, handbook and road book, with sixteen illustrations, six town plans and a road map in color. pp. 260, price 5/6 net.

True to its title, this little book is a practical guide for visitors and tourists to that part of North Africa which is the most interesting and nearest to Europe. Thanks to the magnificent work of the French administration, travel in Morocco is now no more difficult than in France and no more expensive. A marvelous system of roads enables the tourist to cover Morocco in twenty days from Tangier to the interior and back. Practical information is given on nearly every subject except missions, to which there seems to be no reference, although the Roman Catholic Church and several Protestant Societies have important work. A footnote informs us

that "In Morocco the entrance to all mosques is rigorously prohibited". The map is on a large scale and worth the price of the volume.

S.M.Z.

Morocco as a French Economic Venture. By Melvin M. Knight, with a preface by Charles A. Beard. D. Appleton-Century Co., New York and London. pp. 244. Price \$2.25.

The writer is professor of economics in the University of California; the theme of the book is indicated by its sub-title, *A Study of Open Door Imperialism*. The recent years of economic depression throughout the world has brought men to ask "Does Empire pay?" Imperial expansion, founded on cheap transportation and mass production, has generally been justified on the ground that civilization pays, and that the carriers of it, therefore, have a right to share its benefits. France's colonial enterprise in Morocco is a prize example of the "open door" exploited mainly in the past half-century. For the student of economics and public finance it offers a capital case for the study of the debits and credits of imperialism. Missionaries in many lands will do well to prepare themselves to understand these fundamental problems. This book affords a very good introduction to their study.

Princeton, N. J.

C. P. RUSSELL

Bibliographie Marocaine, 1923-1933. By Pierre de Cenival, Christian Funck-Brentano, and Marcel Bousser. Paris, Librairie Larose, 1937. pp. 606. 100 francs.

The annual and supplementary bibliographies originally published in "*Hesperis*" are here reprinted in convenient form. All phases of Moroccan studies are included in the classified arrangement of titles. Full bibliographic information is cited for each publication. Although an author index is lacking, the volume furnishes a comprehensive guide to the literature in books, periodicals, and the publications of learned societies.

Princeton, N. J.

KENNETH S. GAPP

L'Islam dans le Monde: Dynamisme Politique Position de l'Europe et de la France. By Arthur Pellegrin. Payot, Paris. pp. 182. 20 fr.

The title of this work explains its character. The author is a member of Grand Conseil de la Tunisie, and writes, therefore, from the viewpoint of French colonial policy. He states that present-day study of the world of Islam is important, chiefly because of the political implications of colonial governments and the international situation due to Islam. The book falls into three parts, of which the first deals with the strength of Islam and its expansion to our own day; the second with Europe and Islam, more specifically with British, Italian and Dutch policy toward their Moslem subjects. There is also a brief account of the Turkish Revolution and the present influence of Communism in the world of Islam. The third part, which includes nearly one-half of the book, deals with France and Islam, especially in North Africa and Syria. The bibliography is limited to works in the French language and is therefore alto-

gether too meager. The statistics of Moslem population are generally correct, except in the case of South America, where the author gives 30,000 instead of 250,000. His viewpoint is characterized in two sentences: "La civilisation musulmane, après avoir projeté un mouvement de pensée et d'art qui s'étendit de Bagdad à Cordoue, durant près de cinq siècles, déclina assez rapidement, comme si le génie religieux des Arabes n'avait fait que prolonger, en leur insufflant un esprit nouveau". . . . "En tout cas, après la Renaissance, les Etats musulmans se sont trouvés dans l'impossibilité de résister à l'expansion de l'Occident, dont la civilisation, avec une énergie formidable, a submergé la planète et a éclipsé la civilisation musulmane décadente."

S. M. ZWEMER

Islam und Bolschewismus. By Gottfried Simon, Heft 4 from the series *Das Evangelium im Osten*, published by Versandbuchhandlung "Licht im Osten", Wernigerode am Harz, 1937. pp. 47, RM 0. 75.

This is a very interesting booklet. The author begins with the sentence: "Über den Bolschewismus schreiben, heisst über Russland schreiben." There are about nineteen millions of Moslems in Russia, who are of various races, but for the most part of Tatar or Turkish origin. The author gives a brief sketch of the history of Islam in that land, and pages 12-30 are devoted to Bolshevism and Islam. The contacts of Islam and Bolshevism have an influence not only upon Moslem culture, but also upon Christian missions among the Mohammedans. The author regards Bolshevism as a religion, and sees in the meeting of this force with Islam the impact of two world religions, while Christianity cannot assume the rôle of a silent spectator. Simon sees in Bolshevism one of the main opponents of missions. Communism has a mighty and energetic propaganda and aims to conquer the whole world. After having discussed the influence of the communists among the Russian Moslems, in Turkestan, in the Near East, and in Eastern Asia, India, and Africa, the book concludes with the chapter: "Welches Bild ergibt sich?" In spite of the propaganda in Islam, the Moslems have retained faith in God and still expect a Day of Judgment. Although it may appear that brutal persecution in Russia has exterminated Islam and Christianity, Bolshevism has not been able in other lands to do any considerable harm to Islam through its propaganda. Christianity, however, has not yet been wiped out in Russia, and Simon thinks that Islam may in the end survive this pressure by borrowing from Christianity. He believes that Bolshevism will not destroy Islam. Although Christianity and Islam endure a common persecution, the cleavage between the two religions will continue. The author concludes: "Die Verwandtschaft mit dem Christentum hat den Islam in grosse Gefahr gebracht, aber gleichzeitig ist es gerade eben diese Verwandtschaft, die ihn in dieser schwersten Krise der Geschichte rettet. Stärker konnte Gott der Herr den Islam kaum auf die rettende Kraft des Evangeliums hinweisen, aber es steht nicht zu erwarten, dass der Islam diese ihn suchende Stimme Gottes hören wird."

Princeton, N. J.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Allah Dethroned, by Lilo Linke. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1937. pp. 354 with 81 illustrations and a map. \$5.00 net.

It should be noted at the beginning of this review that the title of Miss Linke's book is somewhat misleading in that it suggests that the central theme is the decline of Islam in modern Turkey. This is but one detail in the picture which the author paints of Turkey under the new régime.

This study is not approached from a scholarly standpoint, nor does it so pretend. The author entered Turkey, as she herself says, by mere chance, and with no more knowledge of the Turkish language than that provided by her phrase-book. Her aim is to portray the country as she saw it; to the successful fulfillment of this end she has spared no pains in visiting districts representative of all types of the Turkish scene; the result is that we have a cross-section which includes modern seaports and manufacturing centers, as well as remote provincial villages of eastern Anatolia. Little is said concerning Istanbul, doubtless because the author feels that it is already sufficiently well known to the average reader.

Miss Linke has travelled close to the soil and the people and has delineated officials, soldiers, peasants and workers with a definite feeling for their essential and basic traits and values. Like most of those who draw their judgment from a first-hand knowledge of the Turks, she finds them to be a sober and realistic folk, which among Islamic peoples distinguishes them from the more imaginative, but at the same time less stable, Iranians and Arabs.

It is made sufficiently clear that the new régime has met with its most outstanding success in its strivings toward the social betterment of the masses. Its efforts have not only awakened the national consciousness from its post-war attitude of depression, but have given the average Turk the opportunity for at least an elementary education and made him cognizant of his own and his country's potentialities. As a woman, the author is naturally interested in the status of the feminine half of the Turkish population. She does not fall into rhapsodic eulogies of the "new woman," for, while giving the follower of the modern Kamalist conception of woman's rôle due credit for her progressive and forward-looking spirit, she is at the same time appreciative of the virtues and attainments of those women who cling to the manners of pre-republican days.

But in its attempts at the rapid industrialization of the country the Turkish governmental policy has encountered the same problem as Russia, (whence it has taken many cues), namely, that of the transportation of a predominantly agricultural people on a rather primitive level of culture directly into the machine age without first going through the period of gradual preparation characteristic of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. That an excess of enthusiasm has led at times to the misapplication of wealth and effort, the author does not hesitate to point out.

As in numerous European states, the military in Turkey occupy an exalted position. But in this case there is the difference that the army is an instrument not for the potential destruction of culture, but for its upbuilding through the constructive practical training and education which it offers to the masses of Turkish youth: "Militarism

and a nationalist education, and one political party led by a deified man—why had I left Nazi Germany if I accepted these things without protest? Because they had a different meaning and were done in a different spirit. Because Turkey wants to reach unity by education, where Germany upholds it by terrorizing force. Because Turkish nationalism widens the world for millions of people from a primitive village to a self-possessed country; German nationalism narrows it from an important part of the civilized world to a fanatically goose-stepping state. Because the Crescent and Star will never be carried in a hostile spirit beyond Turkey's frontiers, whilst the Swastika, if no one summons up the spirit to check it, will soon wave over a shell-holed Europe." (pp. 219-20). Dictatorship, believes Miss Linke, is much more justifiable in relatively backward Turkey than in her native land. She is a frank but not uncritical admirer of Atatürk and finds his motives and methods considerably more laudable than those of his German counterpart. However, had she possessed a more intimate knowledge of both the old and the new Turkey, her conclusions on certain items of policy would doubtless have been somewhat different. This is the inevitable result of attacking her problem *in medias res*.

The first few chapters of the book are supplemented by short historical appendices designed to orient the reader with regard to the material which has preceded. There are some cases where incorrect or misleading statements are made. For example, the decline of the old Turkey dates from the sixteenth century, and did not begin, as the author states (p 12), only a hundred years ago. She goes much too far in saying that "There exist in Turkish art neither sculptures nor paintings of human beings" (p. 30); this is true as a general statement only of the religious aspect of Turkish, as of all Islamic, art. The spelling of Turkish names and words is not consistent; at times the reformed official spelling is given and in other cases the old European system of transliteration is used. Miss Linke no doubt misunderstood her informant when she says that (pp 215-6) "...formerly sixteen Arabic letters were needed to denote what could now be expressed by a simple Latin z." The Arabic letters which she reproduces (pl. XXV) are only four in number; the other forms are merely variants of these.

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

HAROLD W. GLIDDEN

The Knights Templars, Their Rise and Fall. By G. A. Campbell. Robert M. McBride & Company, New York. pp. 356. \$3.75.

The Latin Kingdom in Palestine was a venture in overseas settlement, and its failure came about for causes which are valid today. The learned and impartial author brings these causes into view of readers already interested, for the story of the Templars is that of the Latin Kingdom, and the story of that Kingdom is one which is "continued" in the current news from Syria. It is to the credit of the military orders that the Latin Kingdom did not fail sooner for want of man-power, through lack of moral support, and through disorganization and degeneration of the settlers. The military orders maintained a fighting force in Palestine, financed and recruited it from Europe, and kept up a high level of courage, dis-

cipline, and military art, as well as some comprehension of local conditions. The Templars have this to their credit, as set forth with pleasant detail by our author. Against them we read, in a masterly handling of little known and involved material, that they were jealous of the other orders and of patriarchal and papal control; they engaged in dynastic rivalries in Jerusalem and even among the Moslems; they were at cross-purposes with the crusading monarchs, who brought them help but had aims of their own; they asserted themselves in Palestine at the expense of the lay society, whose lands they got possession of, and alienated the pilgrim enthusiast by their preference for defensive policy (for they did well to hold their castles in the face of the growing determination of Islam); doubtless they shared the effects of Levantine climate and luxury. Certainly their wealth did them an ill turn at home. A bankrupt king of France coveted their lands and their income of £6,000,000 a year, envied their financial power (for they were great bankers), and feared their military organization; the church resented their privileges and splendid establishment; the people disliked their arrogance and exclusiveness; and they were generally blamed for losing Palestine while remaining rich and numerous in Europe. In any case they had outlived their purpose: Palestine had become untenable; the crusading impulse was moribund, the feudal age which the Templars most represented was at an end. The bankrupt king was greedy, unscrupulous and cruel; the Pope was at his orders; scandalous evidence was produced by torture or accepted from hearsay; and the Templars were "liquidated" throughout Europe. One of the arguments against them was that they had had relations with Islam. Chapter XIII is a summary of the relations of Christendom with Islam during the Crusades, showing how the Templars were tolerant and understanding and that the Moslems respected them. Historic truth is a wholesome corrective to religious antipathy, and the author may find himself commended as a good missionary of understanding between two worlds as well as a just interpreter of yesterday to today.

Hartford, Conn.

R. S. DARBISHIRE

Orientalia Christiana Periodica—Commentarii de Re Orientali Aetatis Christianae Sacra et Profana editi cura et opere Pontificii Institutii Orientalium Studiorum, Vol. III (N. iii-iv), 1937, Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore, 7, Roma, 128. 60 lib. ital. per year.

This is a learned journal which covers a wide range of Christian subjects. This number contains two articles on Coptic studies: *Zwei dogmatische Florilegien der Kopten*; *The Turūḥāt of the Coptic Year*. Church history is represented in three contributions: *Die Konzilsarbeit in Ferrara (1438-1439)*; *Storia e Cause dello Scisma della Chiesa di Persia*; *Über die Gründe der Massenübertritte von Katholiken zur "Orthodoxie"*. Another article is entitled: *Les Paroles de la Consécration dans les Anaphores Syriennes*. Pages 600-653 are devoted to the *Bulletin d'Archéologie Chrétienne Byzantine et Slave*. The journal also contains a number of reviews of books on theological and historical themes.

Princeton, N. J.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

The Times Book of Egypt. Reprinted from the Egypt number, published January 26, 1937. London, The Times Publishing Co. Ltd. Price 2/6.

England's great newspaper has done well in publishing this special number as a book. Though prepared and issued in view of the recent Anglo-Egyptian alliance, it contains much more than the history and text of the treaty. Competent articles deal briefly with Egypt's history, the sources of her present wealth, with banking, finance and foreign trade. Particular attention is devoted to the budding industrial ventures of Bank Misr. Of special interest to readers of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* are a chapter on the Coptic church and one entitled *Trend of Moslem Thought*. Its opening sentences merit quotation. "In common with all religions, Islam has had to stand the shocks which have been delivered to traditional habits of thought and observance throughout the world by modern criticism informed by modern science and by the new *tempo* of existence imposed by the material civilization of today. The shock has been felt in Egypt more than in most Moslem countries because Egypt, by virtue of its geographical position as well as its more advanced state of cultural development, is more exposed and more sensitive to influences coming from Europe and the West. Its effect can be seen in a considerable decline in orthodox Moslem observance, in the reduced attendance at the mosques, the growing neglect of the Ramadan fast, and the loosening of the rules for conduct enjoined by the Shari'a—the Holy Law."

Princeton, N. J.

C. P. RUSSELL.

Tamaddun-i-Islam wa 'Arab, an Iranian translation of G. Le Bon's *La civilisation des Arabes* (Paris, 1884), by Saiyid Muhammad Taqi Fakhridā'i Gilāni, Majlis Press, Teheran, 1937, pp. 849.

Popular in Iran as a prize this year for students of high standing, this comprehensive and elaborately illustrated book, though published in French more than fifty years ago, brings to the fore the military, religious, scholarly and commercial triumphs of early Islam in such a way as to make it most welcome to those in Muslim countries who resent the present general swing to the thought and customs of the West. The Arabs have not been much in favor in Iran in recent years, but this enthusiastic portrayal of their achievements, in a book so full of pictures that were taken throughout the Muslim world before that world began to change, is finding many appreciative readers.

D. M. D.

BOUND SET OF "THE MOSLEM WORLD" FOR SALE

A retired missionary would like to sell a complete set of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, the first 23 volumes of which are bound in green buckram. Address W., in care of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., making an offer or asking price.

CURRENT TOPICS

Islam in Yugoslavia

We present the following translation of an article in the July 1937 issue of *Ibla*, which is the Journal of the *Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes*, Tunis:

According to the latest statistics the Moslem population of Yugoslavia numbers 1,600,000, or 12 to 15% of the total population. There are no Moslems in Dalmatia, but they have spread in more or less compact groups everywhere else, notably in Southern Serbia, where they make up 48% of the population, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where they constitute 37%.

The islamization of these people began at the point of the sword (battles of Chernomen in 1371 and Kossava in 1389), but it continued after the Turkish conquest in 1459 through the influence of nomadic Turkish tribes and military colonies who settled in the country. Part of the peasant element was won by conversion, especially in Bosnia. Furthermore, the Bosnian feudal class, formerly Orthodox Christian, soon went over to Islam out of cupidity. They formed the class of *bey*s, who were more or less subject to the Turkish Wali of Travnik: they are not the least violent nor the least enthusiastic partisans of Islam.

To what racial groups do the Yugoslav Moslems belong? For the most part, they are Slavs. Out of 737,189 Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 650,000 are Slavs. In Macedonia, on the right bank of the Vardar below Skoplje (Uskub) there are 280,000 Moslems of more or less mixed Turkish descent. The Albanians number 350,000 in the vicinity of Monastir. Finally, there are 50,000 Tziganes scattered throughout the country.

For a long time, their language was a poor form of Turkish. At the present time, however, Serbian, transliterated into Arabic characters, tends to predominate, in Bosnia especially. Bosnia and Herzegovina were under the effective control of Austria from the time of the Austro-Turkish war of 1878, but the Sultan did not relinquish his sovereign rights over them until 1906.

This situation, together with a strong anti-Serbian feeling, led Austria to a marked pro-Moslem policy. She left in the hands of the feudal lords both their vast domains and their special privileges. The civil and religious officials approved the budget. The Waqf funds were spared, and so were the schools. Out of deference to the Sultan, Austria even founded and financed a school of Moslem jurisprudence (*shari'ah*) at Sarajevo.

Under the Yugoslavian regime, the organization of the religious

community did not change in the least until the agrarian reform came into effect. This reform took place at the expense of the *beys* and *aghas* of the old regime; they were practically ruined by it, unprepared as they were to face the economic struggles of the modern world. The indemnities which they had received in exchange for their domains were very soon subject to depreciation, and now they have lost them all. The simple tenants of former days, on the other hand, became landowners and at present a Moslem peasantry is gradually evolving and seems destined to survive.

The religious community, as such, has not been molested in any way; there is no anti-Moslem proselytizing. The status of the community was definitely determined in 1931. Formerly the Moslems of Bosnia had a supreme head, the Ra'is-al-'Ulama', at Sarajevo, in keeping with the Austro-Turkish agreement of 1909. This Ra'is was practically independent of the Ministry of Religious Sects. In Serbia, the Moslems had a grand mufti at Mitrovitz (and Skoplje) and another at Belgrade. Both of these came under the control of the Moslem section of the Ministry of Religious Sects, in Belgrade.

Since 1931 the Moslems have at their head a Shaikh-al-Islam, called Ra'is-al-'ulama', who resides in Belgrade and draws a minister's salary. He is elected by the members of a council, composed of 'ulama', muftis, the principal of the School of Qadis, and delegates from the commission on the "Waqfs" of the lower chamber. This election is sanctioned by royal decree. The Ra'is appoints judges who are state officials. The community is divided into two regions: that of Sarajevo and that of Skoplje (Uskub). These are subdivided into "*muftiyah*", whose leaders are appointed by the king on the recommendation of the Ra'is-al-'ulama', acting in conjunction with his two councils of four members each.

At the head of each region there is also a council for the administration of the "Waqf" and another for Muslim instruction. The heads of the *muftiyah* keep the records of births and deaths.

In matters pertaining to the personal status, the Moslem law (Hanafi rite) is in full force, except in cases where both parties agree to resort to the state tribunals.

The confessional schools have been maintained; hundreds of them give instruction in all grades. Arabic, the Qur'an and the fundamentals of religion are taught in the primary schools; jurisprudence, the traditions, Quranic exegesis, Turkish and Arabic literature, Moslem history and the modern sciences in secondary schools.

For their higher education, students may choose between one of the two schools of Moslem jurisprudence and the state universities.

Islam in Manchukuo

Manchukuo as a whole has a population of thirty million. Out of this the Mohammedans make a gathering of 151,200. These people have built some one hundred and fifty mosques in various parts of the country. In our own mission field in Tsitsihar, the provincial capital of Lungchiang, according to the latest statistics there are some 2,635 Mohammedans. In Noho, where we have another station, there are 240 members of the same religious party. Lung-

chiang province—the Drake River Province—within its boundaries has more than 8,000 members, but of them 5,200 are men and the rest women.

I do not exactly know why, but perhaps the numerical difference between men and women among the Mohammedan congregation has the same reason as for the Manchukuo population as a whole. Many of the people are immigrants from China proper. The men are naturally the greater proportion in the immigration. Wives and children are almost always left at home. The immigrants themselves had to set out for work in the unknown, or as settlers in virgin soil and wilderness in "Far Western Canada". But this condition has to change, and will by and by become better. That will also be great uplift from the perilous moral condition.

In general the Manchukuo Mohammedans make their living mostly as hotel-keepers, tanners, bathhouse keepers, butchers and the like. Up in the north a great many of the Chinese Mohammedans are herdsmen. They and the Russian emigrants in the vicinity of towns lead their herds out to the fields in the morning. If when the dusk grows thick you stand outside the town gate of Noho, and the park of Tsitsihar, far out in the Nonni Valley you would count many large flocks grazing their way homeward for the night. Some of the herdsmen are mounted on their sharp-riden Mongolian ponies, that they might better watch the rebellious and straggling sheep. When the sun with patience is making her way far out into the west toward the horizon of the vast plain, the flocks pour in throngs through the town gates, and in the gathering darkness stroll down the streets.

Noho, Manchukuo

J. HOGETVEIT.

Religious Liberty in Egypt

Foreign Missions in Egypt watched with more than academic interest the progress of the negotiations which culminated in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of 1936, and the outcome of the Conference at Montreux in May, 1937, which resulted in the formal abolition of the Capitulations, and the defining of the authority and powers of the Mixed Tribunals At the Montreux Conference, Nahas Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, gave an undertaking concerning the future of missionary institutions after the abolition of the Capitulations had come into force. He promised that "within the limits of the customs recognized in Egypt regarding religions other than the state religion," freedom of worship shall continue to be assured to all educational, medical and charitable institutions in existence at the time of the Conference, on condition that there is no offence against public order or morals. These institutions are to retain their legal status, to be governed by their own charters, and to be subject to the Mixed Tribunals, though at the same time they must submit to Egyptian laws and regulations, including fiscal laws, under the same conditions as similar Egyptian institutions

Whereas missionary institutions were thus assured at the Montreux Conference of certain safeguards for their work during the next few years, no guarantee was given, at the time of Egypt's

admission to membership of the League of Nations at Geneva in May, 1937, of religious freedom for the indigenous Christian minorities

So far as can be ascertained at present, the future of missionary work in Egypt will depend primarily upon three factors. The first is the development of public opinion, with special reference to the movement towards Western civilization on the one hand, and to the renaissance of Islam on the other The second important factor is the development within the governing classes of the conception of freedom of thought, as an element of intrinsic value in a democratic state Upon Egypt's decision to follow the democratic form of government, on the one hand, or the totalitarian, on the other, will depend in part the future position of Christian missions. As a consequence of these two factors, there emerges a third, which may have a serious effect on missions and their activities. Even if laws are passed controlling both Christian and Moslem institutions alike, there may be constant discrimination in the application of these laws by government officials to the two different types of institution. It is only too easy for officials to penalize work which is unpopular.

One specific problem of religious freedom in Egypt which has claimed considerable attention during the past year relates to the teaching of religion in the Government's "compulsory" schools. Pressure was brought upon parents by inspectors of the Ministry of Education to induce them to remove their children from Christian elementary schools to the Government's schools. Not only were Moslem parents fined in the courts because their children attended the local Christian school, and so did not receive the instruction in Islam required by the law, but even Christian parents were similarly fined, on the ground that the Christian school had not been given official recognition. Negotiations with the Ministry have now resulted in a promise (a) that Christian elementary schools will be recognized, subject to certain reasonable conditions, provided their standard of general education is the equivalent of that of the "compulsory" schools, and (b) that Moslem parents may continue to send their children to Christian elementary schools so long as they can satisfy the courts that their children are receiving the required instruction in Islam in their own homes or in some other school.

—*The East and West Review*, January, 1938.

The Clergy and Politics in Syria

The following quotations from Lissan-ul-Hal, of November 25, 1937, are sent out by the Syrian-Palestine Translation Service:

"A journalistic dispute was aroused by a recent speech of the Maronite Archbishop, Ignatius Mubarak, in which he strongly criticized the Lebanese government after their action in dissolving the semi-military organization known as the White Shirts. The Archbishop was accused by government supporters of being responsible for the riot which occurred the following day, in which a Senegalese soldier was killed and a number of people wounded."

"There are those who believe that the clergy should not enter into political affairs. They want them to stay in their monasteries

observing their fasts and prayers and thinking only of spiritual things. In reality you cannot find a country in which the clergy do not have an influential voice in the world of politics. Take for example the Pope in Rome, the Archbishop of Canterbury in London and the Grand Mufti in Palestine. The first of these does not allow his official greatness to prevent him from taking part in politics when politics is a danger to society. You see him attacking communism on the one hand and Hitlerism on the other hand, and calling for peace and love. With all that he is first of all an Italian in temporal matters. In the Italian attack on Abyssinia you do not hear a word of criticism against the Italian government.

"The second (The Archbishop of Canterbury) is always in the midst of English politics, bringing about the abdication of his sovereign, attacking the policy of Italy and defending Abyssinia in the name of humanity and of Christianity, always speaking for the rights of man, for the League of Nations, for the Jews in Germany but never uttering a word about martyred Palestine, for he is an Englishman before all else.

"The third (The Grand Mufti) leads a glorious national movement, defends the Arabism and independence of Palestine, for he is a political leader in the attack on English policy in Palestine and in the rejection of Zionism. He defends Arabism for he is a genuine Arab

"Why should Bishop Mubarak not have the same right as these other leaders? Why do you wish his Grace to be less patriotic than others?

"We do not say that men of religion should leave their religious duties and become immersed in worldly affairs. But we approve of their concern for temporal and political matters and the stand they take against oppression and for the right. If the clergy deal with these things they are only doing the work of the Lord Before you close the mouths of the clergy you must correct the pens of the hirelings. Those mouths must not be stopped as long as they are the tongue of true patriotism."

Islam in Albania

Albania is the most solidly Moslem State in Europe. Of its one million people, some seventy per cent. are Moslems, twenty per cent. are Orthodox and ten per cent. Roman Catholics: These proportions have remained practically unchanged within living memory.

Protestant Christian bodies are found in all the countries contiguous to Albania, but there are practically none there. Tirana, the capital, may have a few Protestants somewhere among its 30,000 inhabitants, and a few more might be discovered elsewhere.

Following the proclamation of the present King Zog in 1928, there took place a phenomenal recovery from the five centuries of Turkish bondage, first broken in 1912. Young intellectuals were hustled through continental universities and returned to displace foreign professors in all educational departments. The end in view was Albanian unity, and it was demanded on the ground of nationalism. Divisive influences, due to religious propaganda and rivalry,

were frowned upon, and the leaders of the two dominant faiths, Islam and Orthodoxy, were rendered submissive by patronage.

In 1933, it became evident that the educational system must be tightened to check foreign influence, and especially Italian propaganda. All foreign schools, therefore, were suppressed, and the mission school, originally founded by the American Board in 1908, suffered the same fate. This drastic measure has since been modified, but the reopening of foreign schools is hedged about with very strict conditions . . . Measures were . . . taken this spring to provide religious instruction in all public schools . . .

Preaching is certainly unhindered. Services are held in the villages, in the State hospital and the State prison, also regularly on Sundays, accompanied with Sunday-school. Moreover, colportage throughout the country was authorized by the Government in December, 1934. There is such opposition as might be expected in a country where there are three competing religions, but whenever it manifests itself, it usually springs from individual bigotry. It is not a Government attitude, which on the whole is tolerant of Evangelical work, . . . although Evangelicals do not have any legal standing nor a lawful right to propagate the Protestant faith.

By EDWIN E. JACQUES—in *World Dominion* for January, 1938.

Pan-Islam and Pan-Arabism

In the *United Empire* for January, 1938, Kenneth Williams has the following statement:

If the Islamic world is united in sentiment, it is far from united for action. The old spectre of Pan-Islamism is now seen to be what it always was, namely, a spectre. Even the later and less hollow dream of Pan-Arabism is very far from achievement. Jealousies still rend the Arab world, preach the Arab intellectuals as they may. Yet recognition of such facts should not blind us to the potentialities, to what are called the imponderables. The emergence of sudden Moslem waves is not predictable—it never has been. Ideas in the desert germinate or blossom in a day, to be stopped only by satiation or by forcible suppression. Both Asia and Africa provide examples of the arising of a Mahdi or of some other leader who shall lead the Faithful to victory or Paradise. Times change, but the elemental heartbeat of the Moslem is scarcely altered since the Prophet set out on his amazing career which led his followers to the Atlantic, to Europe, and far into Asia.

That there will again be a violent resurgence of Islam is in the highest degree improbable. The Arab may have his dreams, but he has no desire to assault the West. Assuredly he is willing to borrow from it that which in time will make him independent of it. Assuredly he will combine with his neighbours (e.g., Iraq combines with Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan) in order to be more secure against Western aggression. But he wants to live in increasing friendship with the West. It is a profound error to assume that the Western Asiatic is concerned only to revive some extinct Oriental civilization. On the contrary, he is, speaking generally, reproducing in the East the form of Western civilization best adapted to his own needs as fast as he can.

Mysticism in Islam

"Mysticism," said the Imam of the Woking Mosque, Maulvi Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad, to the Inter-Religious Fellowship, "is the very life blood of Islam." He was speaking on "The Reality of Mystical Experience in Islam," a subject which, according to the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Bagnold, provided a line of approach common to all the great religions.

There were, said the Imam, two tendencies in the soul—towards truth and towards untruth. The soul of man had all the separate qualities of Nature—light, heat, and so on; a man could be as the sun or as the moon, but if he wished to cultivate his soul towards perfection he must borrow from God.

In Islam there was no mysticism, properly speaking, for the knowledge which Westerners treated as occult was to the Muslim the real knowledge: mystical experience was at the bottom of all civilised life. No civilisation was possible without religion. All great advances have been made from fundamentally religious impulses. The present chaos of our social life was due to our neglect of occult, supersensual life, and individual experience and recognition of this fact must precede the coming of international peace.

The Prophet Muhammad, declared the Imam, was the greatest mystic of all time. He received the Quran, a collection of the ordinances of God, in a trance. The so-called "glories of Islam"—the conquests of the Muslims, their polity, their architecture, and so forth—were but the husk of the history of Islam, whose real history was a religious history.

Muslims learned from two sets of people, those who actually had experience of religion but did not teach from books, and those who relied on textual capacity. These last had rather "made a mess of religion." Only recently in the West was the work being appreciated of the occult masters of Islam, such as Jalaluddin Rumi (whose *Masnawi* was being translated by Professor Nicholson).

The Muslim mystics, who constituted a sort of Islam within Islam, were the most important of all Muslims—the political side of Islam was its least important side.

In the Dervish Orders were the remnants, corrupted and debased, of mystic experience. All the Orders arose from a spiritual personality.

Islam provided all kinds of men. It had no need of Theosophical or Spiritualist movements—they were already there. As Muslims grew in years, they became introspective, and therefore tended to develop the mystical aspects of human life.—*Near East and India*.

Islam and Art

The following is from the Turkish press: "Why has Islamic tradition prohibited the art of portraying figures in pictures and statues? Why was it that until recently, those in our homes who prayed would not spread their *namaz* carpet until they had turned the pictures which hung on the wall? Why was it that all our religious women scratched out with their hair-pins the pictures of horses which were on the match-boxes of twenty years ago? What are the

beliefs or what is the background of the feeling which has created the anger and hatred of the Islamic tradition for the plastic arts which recreated figures belonging to nature?

A more important question: Has the Qur'an absolutely prohibited the representation of figures?

This hatred in Islam which has been directed not against the picture but against the idol, is the noble and sublime expression of the desire for overthrowing the crude, limited and mortal symbols of God on earth, and erect in their places the qualities of the Infinite and the Invisible.

What is the Cross? Jesus crucified. This idea of the humanized God, in the materialistic Western civilization which was born of Christianity, gradually gave place to the idea of the deity of the man. It looks as if the idea that "God is not the creator of man; man is the creator of God" has come out of a vision of an anthropomorphic God who took the shape of man. Jesus who has been the shadow of such a God on earth has until today continued giving his miracles: the telephone, the radio and automobile were born of a religion which worships lifeless matter. The love of animate figures, which the Moslem religion despises, still continue to make it possible for Christian civilization to perform all sorts of miracles in making inanimate matter move by itself.

So long as it remains confined to places of worship, the disgust of the Moslem religion for representation of figures in drawing and sculpture is surely the finest and highest way of understanding and loving God who is characterized by infinity, invisibility, unaccountability and immeasurableness.

But when this feeling of disgust passes over the threshold of mosques and spreads out into the street, the homes and the studio; then it becomes the last stage of stupidity in the midst of real and overflowing life. Then it is time to remind the ignorant and the mentally blind among Moslems that there is no such prohibition in the Qur'an.

The following tale which is told by Massignon is so ridiculous that a real Moslem can never believe that it is a tradition from Muhammad, "Hadis". According to a tradition from Ibni Abbas, they say that a Persian painter asked:

"Well then, must I give up making pictures of animals? Must I give up my art?"

And this is the answer he received:

"Yes, you may make pictures; but you must cut off the heads."
Peyami Safa, Jumhuriyet, Sept. 29, 1937.

The Qadian Ahmadis on Polygamy

The weekly organ of the Qadian body of the Ahmadiyya Movement, *The Sunrise*, for November 27, 1937, has the following note:

"The Punjab Branch of the All-Indian Women's Conference recently passed a resolution urging the need of some sort of legislation against polygamy. The non-Muslim women were foremost in this demand. The Muslim women, though they did not go to this length, also disapproved of the practice and recommended social boycott of men who married more wives than one.

"It ill becomes Muslim women to rail against polygamy or to suggest a boycott of men who enter into polygamous marriages; the law of the Quran and the practice of the Holy Prophet expressly recognise it, though both of these do not amount to anything more than a permission which is hedged in by the condition that strict equality must be observed among the co-wives. Blind following of the West is engendering a sentiment against a wholesome social institution, and women themselves may have to be sorry for it when conditions necessitating recognition of polygamy invade Eastern society as they have invaded some of the European countries."

Annual Gathering of the Qadian Ahmadiyya Community

We quote from *The Review of Religions* for January, 1938:

"The Annual Gathering of the Ahmadis in the Christmas week is a great event in the history of the Ahmadiyya community. Thousands of Ahmadis come every year from every part of India, sometimes from some foreign countries as well to pay their respects and to listen to the soul-stirring sermons of their spiritual Leader and Guide and also to refresh and strengthen their faith by visiting the place where God's Glory and Majesty was manifested in the person of the Founder of their Movement. From a small meeting of not more than three hundred Ahmadis and sympathisers in 1892 when its foundations were laid, it has grown and developed into a great institution. The number of Ahmadis who visit Qadian on this occasion always exceeds that of the previous year. This year, (1937) it approximated thirty thousand."

Chinese Moslems and the War

General Pai Chung-hsi, a Moslem, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's chief of staff, recently made a trip to China's north-west with the main object of consolidating support of the Moslem Chinese for the war against Japan. He claims success, and is said to have greatly counteracted the activities of Japanese agents who have been busy in Kansu, Ningsia and Tsinghai Provinces, attempting to win a pro-Japanese following preparatory to a military drive into the northwest.

General Pai brought to Hankow 1,500 Mohammedan youths who were specially picked for strength and intelligence. They are now undergoing military training under his personal direction. After further study in the Kwangsi branch of the Central Military Academy at Nanning they will be sent back to staff the Northwestern provinces' armies.—*New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1938.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL

ĀZĀD BILGRĀMĪ. Sayyid Wajahat Husain. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta. No. 2, 1936. pp. 119-130).

Biographical sketch and list of the works of a scholarly teacher and writer of the Deccan, who lived 1704-1785.

EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN. (In *The Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine*, London. Vol. 7, 1938. pp. 45-62).

Detailed account of results achieved in 1936-37.

MAGHRIBI KORAN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 17TH TO THE 18TH CENTURIES. Nabia Abbott. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago. January, 1938. pp. 61-65).

Descriptions of four manuscripts.

DAS SENDSCHREIBEN. Alfred Siggel. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Band 24, Heft 3/4. pp. 287-306).

Arabic text with translation and introduction of a manuscript in the Cairo Library, which gives an alchemist's directions for the attainment of supreme wisdom by a process discovered by Hermes der Hermesse (wisest of the wise).

VERSUCH EINER LITERARGESCHICHTLICHEN BETRACHTUNGS-WEISE ALTARABISCHER POESIEN. E. Bräunlich. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Band 24, Heft 3/4. pp. 201-269).

The poems contain much valuable material regarding language, manners and customs, law and religion.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

LES ARCHEVÊQUES D'OCHRIDA ET LEUR RELATIONS AVEC L'OCCIDENT. A. P. Péchayre. (In *Échos d'Orient*, Paris. Octobre-Décembre, 1937. pp. 398-439).

Tells of the condition of the Christians in European Turkey during the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

UN ÉCHANGE D'AMBASSADES ENTRE CORDOUE ET BYZANCE AU IX^E SIÈCLE. E. Lévi Provençal. (In *Byzantion*, Bruxelles. Tome XII, 1937. pp. 1-24).

Recently discovered Arabic texts throw new light on diplomatic relations between 'Abd ar-Raḥmān II and the Emperor Theophilus.

A FORGOTTEN BRANCH OF THE ISMAILIS. W. Ivanow. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. January, 1938. pp. 57-79).

An account of Shāh Ṭāhir, surnamed Bakkanī and Husayni, who lived during the 16th century and was Imam of a schismatic Ismaili sect.

JUIFS ET MUSULMANS SELON LE ḤADĪT. Georges Vajda. (In *Journal Asiatique*, Paris. Janvier-Mars, 1937. pp. 57-127).

A study of the materials found in the Ḥadīth, relating to Jews—a far from flattering picture.

PETITE CHRONIQUE DES ID OU AICH: HÉRITIERS GUERRIERS DES ALMORAVIDES SAHARIENS. P. Amilhat. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier 1, 1937. pp. 41-130).

Detailed historical study with genealogical tables.

IV. KORAN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

HANDBUCH DES ISLAMISCHEN STAATS-UND VERWALTUNGS-RECHTES. Badr-ad-Din Ibn Gamā'ah. (In *Islamica*, Leipzig. Vol. 7, Heft 1. pp. 1-64).

Five chapters of a 17-chapter work dealing with public law and administration in the conduct of an Islamic community. Arabic text and translation.

DIE WAHHABITEN UND DER MAĞRIB. E. Pröbster. (In *Islamica*, Leipzig. Bd. 7, Heft 1. pp. 65-112).

Discusses the common sympathy existing between North Africa and Arabia due to nomad life and simple doctrines.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

CONQUEST OF THE DESERT. Ameen Rihani. (In *Asia*, New York. March, 1938. pp. 192-197).

Sketches the amazing development of the Iraq Petroleum Company and suggests that the valuable pipe line may have a unifying effect on the Near Eastern countries by giving them a common interest.

NEW PEASANTS OF TURKEY. Nermin Muvaffak. (In *Asia*, New York. March, 1938. pp. 198-200).

Praises recent agricultural advances made possible by government aid.

QUELQUES ASPECTS DE L'ECONOMIE DIRIGÉE EN ÉGYPTÉ DURANT CES DERNIÈRES ANNÉES. S. E. Ahmed Abdel Wahab Pachà. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Avril-Mai, 1937. pp. 437-453).

Outlines the course of "planned economy" in Egypt in the sugar and wheat industries.

THE TOURIST IN THE TURKISH CAPITALS OF ANATOLIA. E. H. King. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1938. pp. 97-114).

Brief surveys of the historical and present-day aspects of Konya, Broussa and Ankara.

USAGES SAISONNIERS ET DICTONS SUR LE TEMPS DANS LA RÉGION DE DAMAS. R. Tresse. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier 1, 1937. pp. 1-40).

Folk customs and sayings collected over a period of seven years and giving considerable light on seasonal religious observances in Syria.

WOMAN IN THE POETRY OF SHAWQI. Ahmad al-Badawī. (In *Majallat al-Tālibah*, Cairo. February, 1938. pp. 7-10).

Part of an address delivered in the American University at Cairo and appearing in a new magazine published in Arabic for school girls.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

DICTATORSHIP IN THE HOLY LAND. E. T. Richmond. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. February, 1938. pp. 186-192).

Caustic comment on England's high-handed conduct of her Palestinian affairs, in which Arab trust has been betrayed again and again.

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND IRAN. Sir Aurel Stein. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1938. pp. 38-64).

Excavations prove unity of civilization in chalcolithic times in the border regions between India and Iran, and intercourse, consisting of trade and travel, may be assumed.

IMPRESSIONS OF MODERN TURKEY. Paul Anderson. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. January, 1938. pp. 26-34).

Marked success in the drive for national education and economic independence indicates that 15 years of the Turkish Republic have brought great credit to its leaders.

L'ISLAM ET LA NATIONALITÉ FRANÇAISE. Frédéric de Riche-mont. (In *Le Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, Paris. 10 Octobre, 1937. pp. 9-24).

Study of the problem of the assimilation of native races in North Africa. (*Univers*, Lille).

MUSLIMS IN BULGARIA. M. Wali Khan. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. February, 1938. pp. 63-65).

Due to the tolerant government of King Boris and the present cabinet, complete religious liberty is enjoyed by all Mohammedan subjects.

LE NATIONALISME ARABE. Gén. Paul Azan. (In *L'Esprit International*, Paris. Avril, 1938. pp. 199-217).

A united Europe with specialists directing each nation's Islamic foreign policy would ensure peace and prosperity to Arab countries now being undermined by subversive secret agents.

A NOTE ON THE FUTURE POLICY OF THE ARAB STATES. Emir Adil Arslan. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. January, 1938. pp. 56-59).

The Arabs believe that Britain will reconsider her policy in Palestine so as to do justice to her pledges to them.

TURQUIE D'AUTREFOIS, TURQUIE AUJOURD'HUI. André Lequeux. (In *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lille*. Juin-Juillet, 1937).

A fine geographical synthesis of this Mediterranean country, whose political grandeur was formerly so great, whose downfall was complete, but whose renaissance is so proud and strong. The information on Kemalist Turkey is accompanied by valuable statistics. (*Univers*, Lille).

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

MEDICAL WORK IN ARABIA. W. H. Storm, F.R.G.S. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. January, 1938. pp. 23-26).

Although there is cooperation between the evangelistic worker and the doctor, the medical missionary has a unique opportunity to show forth the love of Christ.

RETHINKING MISSIONS WITH MOSLEMS. S. Neale Alter. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. March, 1938. pp. 134-136).

States Christian and Mohammedan tenets, and believes the Christian position should be discussed uncontroversially with thoughtful, spiritually-minded Moslems in well-planned, clearly presented conferences.

WORK IN EASTERN KORDOFAN. W. L. Mills. (In *The East and West Review*, London. January, 1938. pp. 65-71).

For 17 years the Sudan United Mission has been active in the Eastern Jebels district of the Nuba Mountains and five stations have been opened, but vigorous measures are needed to combat the spread of Mohammedanism.

BOOKS ON ISLAM IN ENGLISH

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